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LATIN AMERICA REPORT

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BRIEFS

SALTO GRANDE LOANS WITHHELD--Montevideo, 22 Apr (TELAM)--Miguel Angel Viviani Rossi, chairman of the Salto Grande Argentine-Uruguayan Technical Commission, today stated that the suspension of loans earmarked for the Salto Grande binational hydroelectric dam by private British banks as a result of the conflict over the Malvinas Islands will not affect the project in its final stage. It was learned here that the three British banks had declined to participate in \$100 million loan guaranteed by the Uruguayan Government and designed to finance the above hydroelectric project. The British banks were supposed to provide \$20 million. [Excerpt] [PY231007 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 0159 GMT 22 Apr 82]

CSO: 3010/1385

BRIEFS

LOS MOCHIS FUEL SHORTAGE--Los Mochis, Sinaloa, 26 Mar--A number of industries will stop production in the next few hours if Mexican Petroleum [PEMEX] does not send enough fuel oil to the region. The list of firms that could shut down because of a shortage of fuel includes Sinaloa Cement, Sugar Company of Los Mochis, Fuerte Foodstuffs, Dehydrated Products of Mexico, Fuerte Steel and the thermoelectric plant at Topolobampo. Rogelio Gonzalez Daniel, sales manager for Sinaloa Cement, said that the plant has been working at half of its capacity because of the fuel shortage and that it had to stop work yesterday for that reason. The manager of the Sugar Company of Los Mochis, Francisco Cardenas Sanchez, indicated that they would only be able to continue operations for a few more hours with the fuel reserve that they had left. He added that, if the allotment did not come tomorrow, they would have to close down. Fernando Tovar Flores, manager of the Fuerte Foodstuffs plant, said that production would be suspended if no fuel was received in the next few hours. The sales manager of PEMEX, Francisco Parra Olaiz, said for his part that the fuel tankers were already in Mazatlan and Guaymas. [Text] [Mexico City EXCELSIOR 27 Mar 82 p 33-A] 9805

CSO: 3010/1302

REACTIONS TO PROBLEMS DUE TO OIL REVENUE DECLINE VIEWED

Finance Minister Discusses Solutions

Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 27 Mar 82 p 4

[Text] Finance Minister Dr Luis Ugueto informed Venezuelan bankers and representatives of foreign banks accredited in our country, of the oil situation and the provisions the government has taken. He asserted that although for strategic reasons he cannot supply the figures on the real reduction our income will undergo, the exchange rate and the tax rate will not be affected. He said formulas are ready to be applied at the appropriate time.

Before a large audience of bankers, high-level officials of national and foreign financial institutions, and journalists, Minister Luis Ugueto gave a presentation at the end of the regular assembly of the Venezuelan Banking Association, chaired by Dr Oscar de Guruceaga.

After discussing the oil situation, what happened at the OPEC conference, and the budget problems this year due to the drop in prices and sales of crude oil on the international market, he asked whether we are prepared for the adjustment. Dr Ugueto indicated a large number of possible alternatives, beginning with the total elimination of subsidies, with the sole exception of milk, concentrated food and gasoline subsidies.

"Given the trend in the petroleum sector, we have already cut the budget by 19.6 billion bolivars. In addition, another series of measures could be taken. Some will be announced shortly by the president of the republic, depending on how immediate and necessary they are. But for the time being, we do not plan to resort to foreign indebtedness. We have more than \$4 billion in the uncommitted reserve."

He emphasized the government's cautious attitude in terms of reporting the exact cuts that will take place in revenues, because that information would permit oil consuming nations to take action, since at this time the world oil cartel is discussing just how much consumers will be able to bear.

"Ecuador and Venezuela are the only members of OPEC that have to face public opinion, because the other countries do not have democratic governments (that is, of the oil producing nations that are members of OPEC). On the

other hand, I would like to stress that it is very logical and understandable for sectors of public opinion to make calculations of the possible reduction in revenues, but I can state here that these estimates are well above the mark. We are certain that in at least two fundamental areas, foreign exchange and taxes, there will be no major change. That is, there is no threat because we are in a position to handle the situation to the benefit of our national interests."

At this time, he added, there are enough foreign currency reserves to avoid any fiscal impact. There is no cause for concern in that regard.

He stated very confidently that the exchange-related solution many have foreseen is an econometric error, especially in a situation such as this one, in which international reserves are in an excellent position.

"In our strategy for coping with the entire problem, neither the exchange rate nor taxes are affected. We have a series of immediate solutions, some of which have already been started. They include the budget cut, the use of uncommitted reserves, and, if necessary (a possibility I regard as remote at this time), external financing. It should be noted that the decisions that are being made now under these circumstances could be implemented throughout the year, and during that time other factors could arise."

"We can assure the nation," he said confidently and vehemently, "that we are equipped to fight in the oil battle."

"The budget adjustment of 7 billion bolivars and the disciplinary measures in spending by decentralized agencies, as well as the private sector, represent a challenge to the whole country. The Executive has prepared other measures for other agencies that are not funded by the Central Administration. But it is not enough for just the government to take action; the entire nation must participate in the belt-tightening."

He added that businessmen should contribute by exercising discipline in spending, to avoid inflationary pressures. They should close ranks in a great productive effort and express optimism and faith in the country. They should thus devote their efforts to the process to which their activities are confined: to produce, promote, and invest, to prevent this panorama of opportunities from becoming the scene of catastrophe that many have been depicting in recent days.

"Bankers have a fundamental role to play at this time. It is through you that mistrust or trust is conveyed. Therefore, you should know how to show the country that we are not facing a crisis, but a positive challenge; that is the truth. You are the regulators of the economic-financial system; whether the situation becomes more complicated or the country will calm down, depends on your attitude."

He stated that the figures and the measures to be implemented will be revealed very soon, but it will be done prudently, for the reasons he explained at the beginning of his speech. He recommended that when this

information is given in the future, bankers should think about what is important and significant, and should reflect a positive attitude. What faces us is the responsibility of all Venezuelans, and the consequences could be one of the best moments, or situation of deterioration if we let ourselves be dominated by pessimism.

When Dr Ugueto finished his speech, the president of the Banking Association, Dr Oscar de Guruceaga, thanked the minister for his words, and indicated that he had been understood perfectly.

Call for Moderation, Austerity

Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 28 Mar 82 p D-23

[Article by Ruben Ferrer Rosas]

[Text] Maturin, 27 March--The current economic situation should not cause a crisis in the country, but should serve as a lesson and a means to return to productive work, to rationalized spending and savings, said the president of the Association of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FEDECAMARAS), Dr Carlos Sequera Yopez, here.

Speaking before merchants and industrialists at the celebration of FEDECAMARA's 25th anniversary, Dr Sequera stated "that this is the moment for the country to become aware of its present and put its future on the path toward achieving true and effective development, based on work, productivity and savings."

He pointed out that the drop in fiscal revenues has come at an opportune moment for the state to act with austerity and moderation:

"Readjustments are necessary, but they should be left as permanent goals, because we have had enough unnecessary waste," he declared.

Calling upon businessmen to invest more in their country, to produce more, to make just demands in accordance with their interests, the president of FEDECAMARAS urged efforts in the name of the social development of regional communities.

"We will never be able to let up in our striving to stimulate regional development, which is a top priority now in FEDECAMARAS," he added.

He rejected accusations that he was proposing the dismantling of the universities when he demanded spending controls.

"What I am asking, and I reiterate it today, is that squandering and waste in university spending be brought to a halt; what I am demanding is greater quality and efficiency in university instruction, so that our universities can provide the country with the human element that it needs for its genuine and true development," he claimed.

Dr Sequera Yopez spoke at the ceremony honoring the founders of the local Chamber of Commerce on the occasion of its 25th anniversary, and stated that "these organizations have done a lot to make this country great."

"Because," he stated, "they are no longer just places where their members can go to complain and make demands; they are open roads to promote regional development, just as this institution has done. In its 25-year history, it has never stopped demanding the projects that have been and are needed by this region."

CTV Economist Expresses View

Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 25 Mar 82 p D-7

[Text] "The drop in fiscal revenues is good for the country, and workers should be on the alert to prevent the effects of the fall in oil revenues from landing on their shoulders," stated economist Domingo Felipe Maza Zavala.

The chairman of the economic advisory committee of the Confederation of Venezuelan Workers (CTV) took the floor at the installation of the Central Council, and noted that he was expressing his personal opinions.

"This circumstance is evidence of the failure of a social and political plan in which a small minority has been the exclusive usufructuary, the sole beneficiary of oil profits.

Maza Zavala is hopeful that this model will fall and give way to a new concept of more just forms, ways and means of living, rather than the lie of a social democracy that denies the masses equal opportunities for improvement and advancement.

"During all these years, the workers have not really gained any benefit from the oil bonanza. The funds for enrichment--sometimes through legal channels, other times through illicit means--that threatens the principles of economic democracy, have filled the coffers of the private sector."

The analyst's observations took aim at the Venezuelan economic model, which he could not find the words to describe. "You cannot talk of a mixed economy, because that means sharing the benefits derived from the joint contribution of efforts and capital."

"In Venezuela, it is the state that provides the capital, the favorable conditions and the economic securities, and that runs the risks. The private sector only opens its pocket."

The university professor claimed that the private sector has become dependent for subsistence on continued state financing with oil money for a dominant minority, while the majority is battered by inflation, the housing shortage, overcrowding and deprivation.

He indicated that he hopes this situation will not have merely temporary consequences. Workers should be on the alert so that they will not have to

bear the brunt of its effects. The mechanisms of the system foster the avoidance of the consequences, and ensure that wage-earners absorb the sacrifices.

Maza Zavala does not hide his skepticism that the situation will lead to an effective budget adjustment that will favor orderly national growth and strengthen the structure of income not dependent on oil.

However, he favors a reform of taxes on speculative and excessive earnings, which would give equal weight to other items such as idle capital and property ownership. It is essential that the government be reformed not just bureaucratically.

"It cannot continue to subsidize economic inequalities, as a representative of the enrichment of a minority to the detriment of the majority."

Maza Zavala does not give a lot of credit to promises to control prices. "No one can guarantee that in a country with a monopolistic economy that denies free competition."

He feels that there is no reason to fall into a state of panic, because workers should come to grips with this situation and come out stronger than ever. "Now the privileged country, the one that has enjoyed the usufruct of petroleum, diverted resources meant for the collective well-being, and denied development, must fall."

Lusinchí's View

Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 27 Mar 82 p D-6

[Article by Argenis Bravo]

[Text] Maracaibo, 26 March--"We oppose any touching of the Venezuelan Investment Fund, because that is an illegal act, and would also be disastrous for the country because it would accentuate the economic crisis."

This was stated by Jaime Lusinchí, presidential candidate for Democratic Action (AD), at a press conference he gave in this city before returning to Caracas.

During the conference he announced that a congressional committee will begin a parliamentary investigation to study the situation in various sectors where a process of mediatisation is going on, and the mass media are being monopolized, especially with regard to radio stations and the purchase of newspapers by people linked to the Social Christian Party (COPEI).

He also stressed vehemently that his party, Democratic Action, because of the fiscal crisis that will be aggravated in this country by the fall in oil income, will adamantly oppose any dipping into the Venezuelan Investment Fund and Petroleos de Venezuela S.A. reserves. If COPEI succeeds in this plan, implied by some of its spokesmen, it would mean "an assault on the law itself."

Earlier, the standardbearer of the AD presidential ticket made a presentation and in-depth analysis of the abandonment of the region of Zulia, whose condition has worsened because of the indebtedness of the Zulia executive branch with sectors of the regional economy.

Zulia Executive Debt

Touching on this topic, and answering journalists' questions, Lusinchi stated that "the debt of the Zulia government, which amounts to about 761 million bolivars, is a serious matter. The news that credit has been denied the regional executive is even more serious, because the Venezuelan Government does not have the right to call it a poor payer or a bad risk, since it has enough resources to meet its commitments."

"There are some debts that will present difficulties, because a good part of them correspond not to reproductive investments or investments aimed at solving the enormous problems of the collectivity, but are debts for wasteful spending and even restaurants."

"The Legislative Assembly of the state of Zulia should launch a serious investigation into this grave problem and report its results to the public."

Next, referring to the national fiscal deficit, he pointed out that he did not have figures at the time to make an exact estimate, but based on production calculations, it appeared to be between 20 billion and 23 billion bolivars, more or less.

"The estimates of Arturo Hernandez," he added, "are there, and of course they are not abstractions or mathematical speculation."

"The Venezuelan Government," he stated, "still has resources it can use, without touching the Venezuelan Investment Fund or the Petroleos de Venezuela, S.A. reserves. That should not be touched, and we will oppose it fiercely."

"Furthermore, it would mean an assault on the very law that created the Fund, and would have serious administrative and political implications. In Venezuela a series of programs and project priorities could be adjusted to cushion the impact of this deficit."

With regard to the meeting he had here with Jovito Villalba, which resulted in what is known as the "Maracaibo Pact," Dr Lusinchi pointed out that "journalists have been a little hasty in their interpretation of a system of relations with our friend Jovito Villalba and the Democratic Republican Union Party (URD)."

"We have," he said, "an old and noble friendship with Dr Villalba, and we regard him as an exceptional Venezuelan. We identify with the common conviction we share that in Venezuela a national emergency policy must be implemented."

8926

CSO: 3010/1367

MEXICAN BISHOP ON REPORT TO POPE ON CENTRAL AMERICA

Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish 29 Mar 82 pp 16-18

[Article by Carlos Fazio: "In Central America Everything Is a Lie, Even the Church"]

[Text] Genaro Alamilla said of Daniel: "He is such a disgusting fellow, such a liar. Something horrible."

Genaro Alamilla is a bishop. He is the secretary general of the Conference of the Mexican Episcopate. And Daniel--as he calls him--is Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Sandinist commander and coordinator of the Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua.

The bishop and commander met in Managua, during the last 2 weeks of January, and exchanged views for more than 1 and a half hours. "One and a half hours that I had to listen to him," Alamilla said as he gave an oral account of the report he had prepared as the reporter of a mission-team from CELAM (Latin American Episcopal Council), which had toured Central America.

The reading-commentary on the report (of which PROCESO has tapes) was presented at the beginning of March. In a hoarse, rasping voice, Monsignor Alamilla explained the reasons for a CELAM mission to Central America, during the present hour of crisis: "to hear the testimony of the martyr Church of the region."

"The Pope," he said, "more than ever needs an objective and reliable report. The Holy See, according to Alamilla, wanted to hear the reports of the Central American bishops "because they are up to their ears in the situation." But they said, "No."

Then Rome charged CELAM with "organizing something" and that is how the mission came about. It was made up of five members: Msgr Hector Urrea, deputy secretary of the Latin American episcopal organization, as coordinator; Luciano Mendes de Almeida, from Brazil, representing the episcopates of the Southern Cone; Jesuit Father Arnais, from the Dominican Republic, representing the Churches of the Antilles; Bishop Troconis, for the Bolivarian countries; and Alamilla, for Mexico, Central America and Panama.

Although his report is characterized by its objectivity and reliability, Monsignor Alamilla nonetheless warned that one should not seek in his account "bloody anecdotes, statistics on deaths, torturings or vanished persons; nor should one seek guerrilla scenes or massacres of all the factions. The only thing to be found is a report...inspired by Mary."

And under Mary's inspiration, Monsignor Alamilla lashes out at everything almost without exception: against the great powers, ideologies, politicians, the popular Church, hierarchical equality, nuns and the Sandinist revolution.

Nicaragua: The Revolution Betrayed

"Its eyes," he said, "have fixed on Central America in which the evil of two worlds in crisis, one of which has its capital in Washington and the other in Moscow, is calculating craftily how it can gobble up such a succulent dish so as later to have greater authority in Latin America." The bird of Central America is mortally wounded" and in this context, everything has lost credibility: the international press agencies, "because they are orchestrating one or the other of the two ideologies, depending upon which master is their sponsor"; the ideologues or politicians of the region because "passion, partiality or the stomach or all of them at once, is conditioning too much."

He completed his thought: "Those who could speak honestly are silenced or tortured, imprisoned or assassinated. Why? Because they are counterrevolutionaries. When authentic spokesmen who could talk do talk they are silenced and so that they will not be silenced, well, they do not talk or say something they should not say and something that is not the truth either."

Monsignor Alamilla's thoughts, although he did not expressly say, were focused on Nicaragua. He clarified his previous statement: "'Because they are counterrevolutionaries' is a 'slogan' which justifies everything today. Private initiative, even honest private initiative, no longer speaks even to defend itself because it does not exist or has knuckled under in a vain effort to save itself. Because that is one of the strange stratagems, as here in Mexico, they think they are saving themselves if they ally themselves a little bit with the Left. Humanly speaking, the prospects are death."

He did not mention names per se; however, when he spoke of "today's revolution," in the Central American context, only one name came to mind: Nicaragua. He said: "We know that there are bloody revolutions which were initiated not without the effective presence of Catholic Christians who acted out of the supreme yearning for freedom to shake the tyranny of despotic rulers. Today's revolutions were justly initiated but have become corrupted in the process (...) They have betrayed the people who collaborated to bring it about, since, having sprung up to overthrow tyrants, they became tyrants in turn; they set about rescuing freedom and implanting justice and have suppressed them; they collaborated with them in the organization of political and social life with democratic feeling and have suppressed every vestige of authentic democracy."

Speaking of the Church vis-a-vis governments, he said: "This, too, smacks of death; apparently, it does, why not, but it is only apparently so." Alamilla,

for the only time in his entire account, mentioned a specific country: "In Nicaragua, we met with Commander Ortega and because of the division of work in the team it became my lot to talk with him. They left me with the toughest job. I had to parry and thrust every now and then; I learned a little bit about parrying and thrusting. I recall with great pleasure my talk with Daniel; he is such a disgusting fellow, such a liar. Something horrible. Of course, we were not going to step backward. He came on and complicated things; what is more he knew from the visas and papers... We were at it for an hour and a half, an hour and a half that I had to listen to him."

Central America: The Church Divided

"In the confused Central American context," Alamilla said, "no party, ideology or faction, no group from the Right or the Left, can claim to be the bearer of the truth about the real system. In the midst of this chaos, we found the Church, protagonist or victim, having the same luck as those peoples: today it is life or death.

"When this Church contemplated the poor, the landless, those without bread, without clothing, without education, without hope, many of its most daring members accepted the challenge presented to them by the prevailing situation of injustice, institutionalized oppression, ideological programs which mortally wounded human rights and opted for the revolution, to the disgust of not a few. And thus we found that Church heroically bloodied, with its children, a Church that was slandered, betrayed, vilified and persecuted."

"That Church," the Bishop continued, "which, although it has to endure weakness, betrayal, irresponsibility, fear, cowardice and the flight of few or many of its people, is announcing the truth of the Gospel from every level of its pastoral hierarchy. Yes, we must acknowledge the fact that when the reaction against such a cruel status quo surfaced, the men of the Church joined the revolution and the violence, not motivated by violence per se but by the right to be free."

In the midst of political turmoil, of parties and ideologies, the crisis touched the churchmen, up to the highest levels. "In the confusion, they made a mistake. Some, who should have spoken out, turned into cowards and entered into agreements with governments, armies, rebels or with the economic powers, ever invoking the lesser of the two evils postulate or fearing to lose the crumbs of freedom which were being blown away; others turned political or ideological, breaking the commitment which their vocation conferred upon them; they were blinded. They even believed they were doing a service for God and the Church when they took positions of leadership they should not have accepted; others took to the hills to join the revolt of the Right or Left; and we can say that this time there is a bit of everything in the chaotic situation now prevailing."

And in the thread of Monsignor Alamilla's narrative, changes of direction continued to be accented: "Thus men at all levels of the Church, making it suffer, failing and so often achieving nothing, will encounter death. It is the greatest confusion that has ever existed in the Church on our continent.

"Many of the Church leaders were greatly shaken in their faith, in their consciences as men. Just as they found no other way out than to opt for subversion in various forms, in like manner fear, calculation and privileges kept others silent who aligned themselves with those who held political and economic power. This caused disorder, disillusionment and frustration among the mass of the faithful who, at times, turned against their priests because they viewed them as having become politicized and ideologized or without pastoral dynamism or courage to preach the Gospel to its ultimate consequences. No more, but also no less."

The circle was almost closed. A feeling of catastrophe took hold of Alamilla when he said: "The Church is divided, profoundly wounded in its unity; humanly all is lost. There is no strategy, system of method which will restore the Church as the epicenter for the creation of the civilization of love."

He spoke of the origin of the problem: the moral awareness program. Promoted by Vatican II, Medellin and Puebla, the moral awareness program was good. Among other things, "the Church succeeded in bringing moral awareness to persons of consideration, persons with influence." However, there was one defect: the intermediate mechanisms by means of which this man could develop were not established. And then, the Christian lost hope. He went over to the other side." Alamilla provided an example: "It is like the courting of a girl by a young fellow, but in the end they do not marry. The girl is dressed in her wedding gown and in tears. No? That is what is happening in Central America where the Church began to palpitate strongly but failed to find the necessary channel. That brought disasters."

"With the moral awareness program came the influence of hegemonies and ideologies inspired by them: capitalist liberalism, like a disgusting "tlaconete" which slips from the hands; Marxist collectivism; and the famous doctrine of national security. And these three elements destroyed, riddled the nations of Latin America. The problem with Central America is that it became internationalized."

(In another part of his oral report, Alamilla spoke at length about the internationalization of the subregional conflict, "in spite of the fact that many proclaim nonintervention and self-determination, just as we do. The interested parties are intervening openly or in an underhand manner or through the intermediary of third parties; and with intervention comes ideology. It is no longer possible to conceal the shipment of military materials and the training of armies by the world powers and also by the middle-size powers, for example, Mexico, but with interests with the great powers.")

He then moved to an analysis of the problems inside the Church. "The crux of the matter, he said, "is in the ecclesiastical aspects. There is doctrinal deviation in abundance. Everyone does as he pleases, and the way he pleases. And here is the most tremendous part: when doctrinal deviations appear we pick them to pieces." Once again he provided an example: "There is great variety in the interpretation of what is the option of the poor ranging from 'kill the rich to give to the poor,' to 'I will take off my clothing to dress the other man.' The great extremes."

And from doctrinal deviation arises "equal rights," particularly on the part of the nuns, who want to be on the same level as the episcopates. Monsignor Alamilla asserted: "I am the one here who must make decisions, direct and order, but then the three primary functions of the episcopate fall through because it now has a competitor which is those equal fights." From this he deduced "contempt" for the social doctrine of the Church. It does not matter to them. Why? Because they say that it is only a palliative of injustice. "For many the social doctrine of the Church should be guerrilla tactics. Those who do not use guerrilla tactics, those who do not use violence, are not worth anything; they have no doctrine."

And then came "the tremendous, the final point that I have noted down here: the famous popular church which is like the antithesis of the institutional Church." He reflected on the work institutional: "That sounds ugly, since it has been devalued. The hierarchy has also been devalued. We are in the midst of devaluation, just like money. Right? It is a popular church which wants to be Catholic and have all that the Church has. Ah, but not the hierarchy. The institutional Church is not worth anything. Now what matters is the popular church, which comes from the bottom to the top, which comes from the masses. That is the question. And this question is the most profound and most serious tragedy of the Church of Latin America: division at all levels; the Church divided."

"What is to be done?" the bishop asked. "What is to be done, for example when 'a nun as mad as a wet hen said that she does not want a pastor. I said to her: 'No, sister, be calm. What is going on? No.'"

"You are typical. You fellows are..." (Who knows what. He left us dangling at that point.)

"Nuns," the bishop commented. "I did not meet priests, clerics or bishops as ferocious as that nun. She was a wild animal. I said to myself: 'Thank God that I did not marry.' It was frightening."

The circle was complete. But Alamilla does not permit himself to be dominated by chaos. He is uplifted by his faith. He said: "We cannot lose hope. Let us look upon this Church almost in its rebirth. It will be a very small seed, imperceptible, almost nothing. But with a vital inner force which will make it grow, develop and yield fruit one hundred fold, from whose branches man will once again take comfort; that force will put a small bit of yeast in the middle of the amorphous dough and this will act to transform it from savage to human and from human to divine."

8143

CSO: 3010/1322

BRIEFS

MEXICAN ADVISERS TO CUBA, NICARAGUA--Alfredo Diaz Urbay, director of international relations of the Cuban Labor and Social Security Committee, announced yesterday on his arrival from Havana that Mexico will provide bilateral assistance to Nicaragua and Cuba on wages and increasing productivity, "on the basis of its magnificent experience in this field." He said that "we will confer with officials in the Labor Secretariat on how to implement Mexico's experience, which will be most useful to us, in Cuba and in Nicaragua." He added that "productivity is of great interest to the Cuban and Nicaraguan people as a way of achieving their economic and social independence and becoming self-sufficient in primary products, as well as increasing workers' wages." Urbay added that Cuba wants to expand its main crop, sugar, and try to increase its exports of nickel and tobacco, and of other farm products, "for which we need to improve productivity on the farms." He explained that "we are negotiating with U.S. entrepreneurs on exports of some of our products, but the aggressive policy of President Reagan's administration toward Cuba limits tremendously any possibilities of increasing trade between our two countries." [Text] [Mexico City EXCELSIOR 27 Mar 82 p 35-A] 9805

CSO: 3010/1302

FORMER SENATOR QUESTIONS U.S. MEDIATOR ROLE

PA241436 Havana International Service in Spanish 0000 GMT 23 Apr 82

[Havana-Mexico telephone interview with (Vicente Leonidas Saad), former senator and leader of the Argentine Justicialist Movement--recorded]

[Text] [Question] I would like to know the result of your visit to Mexico?

[Answer] We are working. So far the results have been very fruitful but our work here has not ended yet.

[Question] What is your point of view, on the U.S. mediation?

[Answer] It offers no guarantees because a government that represents the essence of the world's reaction and shares interests with its NATO partners, so far has taken no serious step in defense of Latin American interests. We think it would be the source of the worst insult that history will tag on the United States, if Argentina is attacked by the pirate-like imperialism of England.

[Question] It has been reported that the British fleet will arrive in the Malvinas territory in the next few hours and there are indications that the British Navy is prepared to seize some of that territory. Do you know anything about this?

[Answer] We know nothing about that, but it is possible. They may have that intention, but if they dare attack, you can be sure they will get the punishment they deserve. They won't take it free, regardless of their psychological campaign trying to underestimate the Argentines. The Argentines will defend their land to the last man and they will not accept a recolonization at this stage of civilization. Colonialism must be completely removed from Argentina and we hope that no Latin American country will disregard a date with honor in case there is an attack on the Malvinas.

[Question] Have you received solidarity with Argentina in Mexico?

[Answer] Much, much solidarity. I am fully satisfied with the disposition of the Mexican people. I have talked with political parties, and government officials and I am very happy and please as an Argentine and as representative of the Argentine majority's party, the Justicialist.

[Question] Do you think that the 2 April events and the unity that was forged in Argentina as of that date, could be the basis for a new phase in your country?

[Answer] I am sure that a new phase is opening up in the country with the recovery of the people's sovereignty. The Argentines are united to take on a new road that will lead us to full democracy and to the self-determination of the people. This is the only real and lasting basis of governments prepared to lead the people through the best roads. Without the people's will and sovereignty, there is no solution anywhere in the world.

[Question] Many Argentine exiles have stated they want to return to the country and join the national effort being made there. Is this happening in Mexico also?

[Answer] Yes! The same thing has happened in Mexico. All the Argentines, regardless of their political affiliation, want to return to the country and serve the nation.

[Question] I would like to know what is, in your opinion, the next step that should be taken in Argentina, from the internal point of view, to consolidate the nation in the face of the British threat?

[Answer] The next step, undoubtedly, must be the release of all the political prisoners without exception. I think that the right-of-asylum problems should be definitely solved. I think that the door must be opened so that all Argentines in exile may return with the corresponding guarantees so that they may struggle, side by side with all the other Argentines, in defense of their patrimony and sovereignty.

[Question] During an interview I had with a leader of the multiparty organization, this leader said that right now there is contact between the parties that belong to the multiparty organization and the military government.

[Answer] Well, of course. There is a higher interest and objective to be defended: national sovereignty. Therefore, all the necessary tools must be used to make this defense effective. The multiparty organization is working very efficiently on this.

[Question] What do you think about the U.S. plan to create a tripartite government in the Malvinas?

[Answer] That this is plunder by the little big brother who, as usual, wants to plunder the Malvinas because that area is rich in hydrocarbons. It is an area with large banks of [word indistinct]. It is an area that could be used for bases to control Africa and it is also important as an easier passage from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic in case of obstacles.

Imperialism, of course, is opening its jaws to see what it can get.

[Question] Do you want to add anything to this interview that will be heard in other Latin American countries, (Saad)?

[Answer] Yes! I would very much appreciate to broadcast to all Latin American countries. Let them recall a phrase of an Argentine thinker, leader of the Justicialista Movement, General Peron, who said that in the year 2000, Latin America will either be united or enslaved. We aspire at being united and free, fully aware of the fact that Latin America can only be saved by Latin America!

CSO: 3010/1385

LATEST RESULTS ON 14 MARCH ELECTIONS

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 21 Mar 82 pp 1-A, 8-A

[Article by Guillermo Perez: "Liberals Leading by Over 700,000 Votes"]

[Excerpt] Barely 1 week following the elections of 14 March for the totality of seats in the Senate, the Chamber, the Assemblies and the Councils, the National Civil Registrar's Office has released a bulletin lacking only 65 of the nation's 976 municipalities.

According to this bulletin, the liberals (followers of Lopez and Galan taken together) are leading the conservatives by more than 700,000 votes out of a total of close to 5 million votes.

Totals by parties are: liberals 2,750,064; conservatives 1,992,950; leftists 110,150; others 41,133; total 4,904,756 votes.

The bulletin does not break down the liberal vote, but according to estimates by EL TIEMPO's Political Section, based on reports by our correspondents, Lopez Michelsen's followers probably total some 2,300,000 votes, while Galan's come to over 600,000.

The significant facts gleaned from the official reports indicate liberal victories in 19 departments and conservative victories in 4: Boyaca, Caldas, Narino and Norte de Santander.

Also noteworthy is the fact that the conservatives registered a large number of votes in the city of Bogota, especially in its populous sectors that have been deemed traditionally liberal, such as the southern sector and Ciudad Kennedy.

The largest liberal vote was cast in Bogota, where a total of 332,604 persons voted for the majority party candidates. Following it in descending order of size are Antioquia 298,667; Valle 247,766; Santander 191,157; Atlantico 176,260; Boyaca 128,634; Magdalena 115,815; and Cordoba 111,545 votes.

The largest conservative vote was cast in Antioquia with a total of 268,890. Following it are Valle 221,054; Bogota 183,360; Santander 134,277; Boyaca 133,479; and Norte de Santander 105,280.

The Left is practically nonexistent; its vote breaks down as follows: Democratic Front 75,057; Democratic Unity 11,599; Liberal Left-FD 6,113; FUP [People's Unity Front] 17,489. The "others" total includes the local movements in each region that are not registered with any political party, like the Cali Civic Movement.

The Left, with its small vote, managed to elect only one senator and one representative for the Cundinamarca circumscription: Prof Gerardo Molina of Firmes, and the communist leader Gilberto Vieira. In Valle, it hopes to win enough of the remaining votes for the Chamber.

Total members of the parliamentary body, by groups, are as follows: pro-Lopez, 51 senators, 93 representatives; pro-Galan, 9 senators, 18 representatives; conservatives, 50 senators, 83 representatives; communists, 1 senator, 2 representatives; others, 3 senators, 3 representatives. The pro-Lopez group could increase by one senator and one representative in the event Tolima's Jaramillist group decides, in the miniconvention it has called to meet today, to back the name of the former president.

As it now stands, the Senate has 114 members and the Chamber 199. This means that no one group will have the necessary half of these totals to control important decisions, and much less the two-thirds majority needed to pass legislative acts, and that this will give rise to many problems and many coalitions.

The decisive power within the parliament will be held by the Galan group which will complete the needed majority, whether on the pro-Lopez side or that of the conservatives.

Situation of the Liberal Camp

Next week will be decisive for the determination of the liberal split that has taken root in the last several days as a result of statements by the Galan sector to the effect that it will go ahead by all means with its own candidate until the 30 May elections.

The split further deepened following the statements of former President Carlos Lleras Restrepo, to be published in next week's issue of the magazine NUEVA FRONTERA, in which he says that he will back to the very end the candidacy of Luis Carlos Galan, besides reiterating his criticisms of the official candidate, Alfonso Lopez Michelsen.

The Lopez sector, for its part, held a meeting of its top leadership on Thursday in which the idea of a compromise based on some of the names that had been mentioned was definitively discarded.

Actually, at that meeting, former Minister German Zea Hernandez, who had been suggested as a possible compromise candidate, reiterated his backing of former President Lopez Michelsen's position. Another of the possible compromise candidates, former President Indalecio Lievano Aguirre, took a similar stand.

Furthermore, at the Lopez group's conclave, Senator Augusto Espinosa Valderrama, who had previously submitted his name for consideration by the Medellin convention, announced that he would again submit his candidacy only if candidate Lopez Michelsen were to withdraw. Tolima's Senator Alberto Santofimio Botero had previously taken the same position in a statement to this newspaper.

The proposed compromise discarded, as it is, the two sectors of the liberal camp will hold two important meetings this week: The first will be that of the Galan sector on Monday; the second, that of the Lopez sector on Wednesday.

It is a foregone conclusion that the Galan camp's meeting will reiterate Senator Galan's candidacy and discard any possibility of getting together with the other camp. Consequently, the Lopez camp's meeting will adopt the same stand and proclaim anew the candidacy of former President Lopez Michelsen.

9238

CSO: 3010/1323

'MAS' STRIKES OUT AT JURIST, JOURNALIST, NOVELIST

Garcia Marquez Among Threatened

Bogota EL ESPECTADOR in Spanish 10 Mar 82 pp 1-A, 9-A

[Text] The lawyer Jorge Enrique Cipagauta Galvis, who served as counsel for the defense in various courts-martial and numerous trials instituted against persons accused of acts against the public order, was riddled with bullets yesterday in Bogota.

Responsibility for the assassination of the well-known criminal lawyer was claimed a few hours later by the organization called Death to Kidnapers (MAS), which in telephone calls to this daily announced that the same fate was in store for newspaperwoman Maria Jimena Duzan of EL ESPECTADOR, former Minister Alfredo Vazquez Carrizosa and writer Gabriel Garcia Marquez--should the last one decide to return to the country--as well as nine other persons whose names were not furnished.

Information obtained at the scene of the crime disclosed that the lawyer had been threatened with death some 15 days ago by a man who claimed to belong to the movement in question.

Cipagauta had been serving as the defense lawyer of Carlos Duplat Sanjuan, one of the leaders of the M-19 who has been on trial for several months now in a court martial at the La Picota prison.

Two Men On a Motorcycle

The lawyer was killed at 0830 hours while driving his yellow car, license No FT-3192, in front of address No 25-10 of Carrera 35. According to the reports of some residents of the area, the assassination was perpetrated by two men riding a white motorcycle apparently bearing license No 185. One of the attackers was wearing a white shirt. All that was mentioned about the other man was that he was wearing a yellow helmet.

During the investigation of the death by the Judicial Police Unit, it was determined that the body had been struck by eight bullets, almost all of them on the left side. Five 9mm pistol cartridge cases were found at the scene of the crime, which seems to indicate that this was the type of weapon used.

Purported "Black List"

Miguel Antonio Cano Morales, close friend of Cipagauta and one of the first persons to arrive at the scene, said that the victim had received a telephone call 15 days ago from a professed member of the MAS telling him he would be killed. Cano added that Cipagauta paid no attention to the incident thinking it was a joke or merely an attempt to intimidate him.

Miguel Antonio Cano Morales, who is a lawyer too, endorsed the innumerable criminal charges and claims of all sorts that the victim had filed against government officials in the past few months.

The lawyer in question reported yesterday that on 21 January, a bomb had been placed in a bathroom adjoining his law office that was deactivated by technicians of the F-2. He asserted that there have been insistent rumors about a purported "black list" of lawyers who are slated to be killed.

Special Judge Alpointed

At the instance of the minister of justice, Dr Felio Andrade Manrique was appointed criminal examining judge of the 10th Circuit, and Dr Manuel Enrique Cuenca Moncaleano was designated to take charge of the pertinent investigation.

Everything seems to indicate that the lawyer was being followed by his killers from the time he left his home because his wife, Marieta Benincore de Cipagauta, said that he had left home for the office at 0800 hours.

Vehement Defense Lawyer

Jorge Enrique Cipagauta was 56 years old and a native of La Uvita, Boyaca. He was a conservative and had been a member of Chamber of Representatives for the National Popular Alliance (ANAPO).

Lawyer Cipagauta was known not only for the novelty and profoundness of his juridical arguments, but particularly for the vehemence with which he expounded his points of view.

His peculiar nature became evident more than once, especially during his participations in the courts martial, in which he almost always started or ended accusing the presiding officer and members of the court. One of the trials where he figured more prominently was the one for the murder of Gen Ramon Arturo Rincon, in the course of which he leveled serious charges against a certain official organization that resulted in the lodging of a criminal charge against him.

Lately he had been engaged in the defense of Carlos Duplat Sunjuan, one of the leaders of the M-19 charged with participation in the theft of 5,000 weapons from the Rincon Quinones Mechanized Group. Concerning this trial, Cipagauta wrote the book "1,000 Days of Ignominy," in which he deals with

some of the aspects of his defense, as well as with some risky details about the trial.

It is worth noting that this is the second sensational case in the past few days for which the MAS has claimed responsibility, the other being the bombing of the home of Maria Jimena Duzan shortly after she returned from interviewing several leaders of the M-19 in Caqueta.

Protests

The crime created consternation in Bogota and gave rise to a series of expressions of disapproval on the part of government officials, colleagues and friends of the victim, members of the legal profession and diverse organizations. The list of such entities includes the National Association of Judicial Officials and Employees (ASONAL), the National Association of Colombian Students, the Democratic Lawyers Association, the National Association of Trial Lawyers (ANDAL) and the Colombian Association of Democratic Jurists, each of which condemned the abominable act and called for an intensive investigation to bring the culprits to justice.

Cano Morales Speaks

Miguel Antonio Cano Morales, colleague of the dead lawyer, said in statements made to the Caracol Radio Network shortly after the assassination that although the case must be the object of a proper investigation, he dares to think that its masterminds are at hand "and are precisely those who do not want us to defend the people that are fighting for justice."

When asked what would happen with the accused that Cipagauta was defending in the La Picota court martial, Cano Morales said: "Dr Cipagauta had already participated in the defense of his client, Carlos Duplat Sanjuan. I participated also. Hence, the only thing we await would be the sentence, but if it is agreeable to the defendants that he was representing, I would ask them to grant me the honor of assuming their defense in the place of Cipagauta Galvis."

Cano Morales said that he had been the object of a murder attempt on 30 March 1979, when eight shots were fired at him at the front door of his home from a vehicle. "The camper from which the shots were fired at me turned out to be the jeep used to escort Gen Vega Uribe, as I subsequently managed to verify at the Military Institutes Brigade (BIM). And despite the fact that I supplied the vehicle's license plate number to the judge of Engativa, she never investigated the matter."

The lawyer said finally that he, as well as his dead colleague, had been receiving persistent threats and insults.

The body of the lawyer lies in state at the Gaviria Funeral Home, the funeral rites will be held at the St Alfonso Maria de Ligorio Church at 1430 hours, and the burial will take place at the Jardines del Recuerdo Cemetery.

Journalist's Home Bombed Earlier

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 7 Mar 82 p 3-A

[Text] A bomb of moderate power exploded at midnight on Friday in the home of newspaperwoman Maria Jimena Dussan [sic] of EL ESPECTADOR, who was recently invited by the M-19 to a meeting in Caqueta. It was determined that the attempt was perpetrated by the MAS.

The device, made with dynamite and a slow-burning fuze, was placed at the front door of the residence located at No 86-23 Carrera 22 by two unknown persons riding a red motorcycle. The blast of explosion damaged the residence, but luckily no one was injured.

The police said that the house was guarded by watchman Fermin Salazar, who was not at the place at the time of the terrorist attack.

Commentary by Garcia Marquez

Bogota EL ESPECTADOR in Spanish 14 Mar 82 p 2-A

[Commentary by Gabriel Garcia Marquez: "Chronicle of My Announced Death"]

[Text] The best-known defense lawyer of political prisoners was assassinated last week in the streets of Bogota by five pistol shots to the head. Hours later, the clandestine group MAS claimed responsibility for the crime and gave the news media a list of its future victims. Although this list had not been published in its entirety up to last Saturday, it was known that three well-known persons appeared on it. One was newspaperwoman Maria Jimena Duzan, who days before had been kidnaped and taken to the operations center of the M-19 guerrillas to write a report by force, which no true journalist would have refused anyway. Another name on the list was that of Dr Alfredo Vazquez Carrizosa, ambassador to London under the government of Alfonso Lopez Michelsen and current chairman of the Human Rights Committee of Colombia. The third on the list--modesty aside--was I.

The MAS group--as they have been self-proclaimed--was supposed to have been formed to combat kidnappings in Colombia, and hence its name: Death to Kidnapers. From the start, its methods disclosed a high level of technique, surprising power and a freedom of action that was difficult to explain except for the possible complicity or complacency of the authorities. It was said that its members were retired military personnel financed by the drug-trafficking mafia, some of whose families had been victims of costly kidnappings. Colombian authorities always maintained a mysterious silence regarding the bold and arrogant activities of the MAS, and the minister of defense, Gen Luis Carlos Camacho Leyva, characterized them for the press with a preemptory phrase: they are quarrels of the mafia.

However, the assassination of a criminal lawyer and the threat against three persons who never had anything to do with kidnappings nor had dealings with the mafia seem to place things in their proper perspective. The MAS is a

group organized to combat political activities with illegal methods and to kill the opponents of the system. Therefore, the old widespread assumption that they are really commandos of the military intelligence service using the repressive methods of Argentina, Uruguay and Chile does not appear to be wrong. In fact, it is known now that the death squads of those countries were made up of professional soldiers who would choose the sinister specialty of killing out of vocation or conviction. It seems that many of them, after finishing the task in their own countries, are offering their services to other countries. They are concentrating in Honduras to direct their activity against Nicaragua. They are advising the governing junta of El Salvador on the crafts of terrorism and death. They are even going beyond our continent to South Africa, where one of the most repressive governments in the world greatly appreciates their savage expertise. At the same time, their countries of origin solve in that fashion the problem of what to do with them once their proficiency has rendered them useless.

In Colombia, despite the systematic denials of the government, the existence of these horrifying organizations was evident. In July 1980, the newspapers of Bogota became aware of a most revealing letter that none of them published nevertheless. It was handwritten by a former member of a death squad--an army lieutenant--and endorsed by his comrades--two sergeants and two corporals--who stated that they had formed part of the intelligence and counterintelligence battalion better known as the "Charry Solano Battalion."

The letter told a hair-raising story in such minute detail that not even the most imaginative fiction writer could have invented it. They said that a group named Triple A, whose name and function were the same as those of its Argentine counterpart, was organized in mid-1978. There was a propaganda squad whose only mission was to paint slogans on walls, using a battalion motorcycle in this task. "Should we be discovered," the letter said, "we could allow ourselves to be captured without saying anything, and our release would be subsequently arranged." Another one of the groups, according to the letter, that year was responsible for the placement of bombs in three newspapers of Bogota: ALTERNATIVA, EL BOGOTANO and VOZ PROLETARIA. Although they did not say so in the letter, it is logical to presume that it was also they who placed an explosive charge in the home of newspaperman Enrique Santos Calderon, director of ALTERNATIVA, whose wife, Maria Teresa, almost lost her life in the explosion. The activities of the group, which were ineffectual on that occasion, were similar to those that the MAS is currently carrying out in the most systematic and alarming fashion.

The letter gave the names of the killers of Manuel Martinez Quiroz, a guerrilla leader who "was assassinated inside a light truck after all information had been extracted from him under torture." Some incidents were more extraordinary because of their frightful refinement: "Dr Lopez was handed a folding knife to kill herself, and driven to despair by the tortures, she severed her veins at the wrists. Augusto Sanchez was given a razor, and he attempted suicide by trying to sever the aorta, but he failed because the razor was too dull. A knife was left for Ivan Marino Ospina on the seat at the place where he was going to be given breakfast, and he attempted to sever the veins in his arms." Somewhere in the letter it was stated, "we can testify at any time about these crimes and the methods used."

But as far as I know, only one newspaper published a portion of the letter despite the fact that its first addressee was the current president of the republic.

We have, therefore, a death squad in Colombia on whose will our fate depends at this time. Contrary to the opinion of many incredulous friends, I have decided to view this threat with all the seriousness that it deserves. I have often stated and reiterated my repudiation of terrorism from whatever source and for whatever purpose, because I consider it an illegitimate and contemptible method of fighting. It would be slightly less than an irony that I became a victim of it. I always dreamed, as a great writer of our times also did, that I would die by the hand of a jealous husband. But it seems that this will be another one of my frustrated dreams.

There is no easier way to fame in this world than that of murdering me. I have no weapon for defense other than my typewriter, and at this stage, I am not inclined to change my lifestyle just to live a few years longer. The only sad thing would be falling victim to the clumsiest government my country has had in all its history in an attempt that would not be even a political crime, but simply an administrative act performed by members of the armed forces of Colombia, whose commander in chief and top responsible officer is the president of the republic.

Previous Denial

Bogota EL ESPECTADOR in Spanish 9 Mar 82, pp 1-A, 10-A

[Text] The judge of the 12th Criminal Court of the circuit of Bogota allowed the suit filed by lawyers Miguel Gomez Mendez and Gilberto Castro on behalf of writer Gabriel Garcia Marquez for the false accusations made against the complainant by several prisoners of the M-19, who claimed that during the interrogations to which they were submitted after their capture, they were forced to confess that the author of "100 Years of Solitude" had ties with the guerrillas.

Doctors Gomez Mendez and Castro filed the suit under a power of attorney granted by Garcia Marquez before the Colombian Consulate in Paris, where the plaintiff found out about the report of EL ESPECTADOR saying that one of the members of the M-19 on trial at the La Picota court martial had alleged in open session that after his capture in Mistrato, he had been forced to sign a statement avowing that the novelist was a member of the M-19.

Prior to filing the suit against the accused being investigated, the two lawyers gathered evidence before and during the inquiry started in this connection, and will request that the investigative reports and the statements of various members of the M-16 who made similar assertions before military court officers, as well as of several lawyers who claim that they, too, heard similar declarations from the lips of various defendants whom they visited at the installation of the Cabal Cavalry Group of Ipiales, where they were being held. The list of those professionals includes Drs Miguel Antonio Cano

Morales, Humberto Criales de la Rosa, Carlos Moreno Novoa and Hernan Suarez Saenz.

According to the two lawyers of the plaintiff, the facts could result in criminal charges of abuse of authority or of masterminding false accusations to be brought against those who forced or tried to force the accused to link the writer with the M-19.

It should be recalled that Garcia Marquez took asylum in the Mexican Embassy in Bogota and left for that country in March of last year, after he found out that it was planned to have him detained and tried under charges of belonging or of lending support to the M-19 for the specific purpose of having Colombian youths receive training in Cuba to join the ranks of the guerrillas.

8414

CSO: 3010/1278

COMMUNIST SENATOR CRIALES THREATENED BY 'MAS'

Turbay Informed

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 18 Mar 82 p 18-A

[Text] Lawyer and Communist Party Senator Humberto Criales de La Rosa revealed to this newspaper day before yesterday that he has been receiving threats against his life by the clandestine "Death to Abductors" MAS [Antiabduction Movement].

Senator Criales provided us a copy of an obsequy that the terrorist organization has sent to his office, and that announces his forthcoming "execution" and expresses the hope "that Christian resignation will accompany all those lawyers who, like yourself, defend abductors in Colombia."

Criales de La Rosa stated that for several days now he has been receiving death threats, as occurred in the case of his late colleague Jorge Enrique Cipagauta Galvis, who was assassinated on 9 March in Bogota. He also stated that he has been being followed by various vehicles, including a Renault 12 carrying license plates SC-8630, for no apparent reason.

He added that he saw an unknown person inside that vehicle taking photographs of him, and that he has reported this to President Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala and to the minister of defense, Gen Luis Carlos Camacho Leyva.

Criales de La Rosa has been exercising his profession as a lawyer for many years and has defended in almost every trial of persons allegedly linked to subversive organizations such as the FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia] and the M-19.

The lawyer said, "My life is being seriously threatened and whatever happens to me is attributable to this MAS group, because of the accusations that have been brought against it and because it is taking part in a campaign against democratic lawyers and defenders of human rights."

The obsequy sent to Criales de La Rosa reads: "The MAS, after conscientiously analyzing the services he has rendered to subversive elements and abductors who are plunging the country into a most ignominious state of insecurity, has decided to send to Dr Humberto Criales de La Rosa its MAS [acronym also spells

"most" in Spanish] heartfelt note of condolences in advance of his sad and forthcoming demise, and prays to the Almighty that Christian resignation accompany all the jurists who like yourself defend Colombian abductors in these hours of sorrow."

Anti-MAS Group

Criales de La Rosa went on to give the lie to a letter published yesterday by EL BOGOTANO in which it is asserted that the lawvers have formed an anti-MAS group to defend themselves against attacks by that group of assassins.

The lawyer said in this regard:

"That letter is a total imposture. It coincides with the threats many of us have received from the MAS. It has all the characteristics of slanderous propaganda and is a sinister maneuver. It gives rise to some searching questions: Why does it cite the entire board of directors of Democratic Jurists and of the Human Rights Committee? Why does it cite a university professor and presidential candidate like Gerardo Molina as a trial lawyer? Why does it cite lawyers who the entire profession knows died many years ago, such as Nelson Robles and Luis Caro Escallon? Why has EL BOGOTANO published an anonymous letter devoid of signatures and that stands out for all to see as a hoax? How can anyone believe that lawyers experienced in criminal law would say things that would expose them to criminal proceedings under the law? The nation's attorney general, to whom we have addressed ourselves, must investigate this maneuver, and we reiterate to the president of the Republic what the EL TIEMPO editorial of the 11th of this month has already said when it insists that the government must break up the MAS group forthwith, without pity or fear, before it is too late and a chain of assassinations is unleashed by this evil force which believes it can continue acting with impunity. We hope and trust the government will take the steps required of it by the situation."

The published letter referred to by Criales de la Rosa states that a group of professionals belonging to the Association of Trial Lawyers and to the Association of Democratic Jurists agreed at a recent meeting to collect 5 million pesos among its members with which to create an organization and confront the MAS.

The anonymous letter, which was also sent to EL TIEMPO, was not published by us because, since it announced the creation of an anti-MAS group, this newspaper checked with the managements of the two lawyer organizations concerned, and the latter denied the fictitious communication.

With regard to the assassination of lawyer Cipagauta Galvis, sources close to the investigating magistrate have indicated that the inquiry carried out to date with the help of the authorities has yielded no positive results.

As is publicly known, Cipagauta Galvis was riddled with bullets by two unknown persons riding a motorcycle. Minutes later, anonymous voices told the newspapers and the radio and television media that the MAS had perpetrated the crime.

Turbay Denial

Bogota EL ESPECTADOR in Spanish 19 Mar 82 pp 1-A, 9-A

[Text] President Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala has stated categorically that the self-styled MAS [Antiabduction Movement] is not an organization protected or tolerated by the government, and advised that anything said to the contrary lacks truth.

The chief of state addressed a letter to Senator Humberto Criales de La Rosa, in reply to a communication sent to him by the mentioned member of the parliamentary body who, according to him, has been threatened with death by the mentioned group.

"Have no fear that our country will become an Argentina, an El Salvador, or a Guatemala," says the chief of state in his letter. "Neither should you harbor any illusions that we shall identify with Cuba or Nicaragua."

He also states: "I have proceeded immediately to request the proper authorities to investigate the facts you have reported. And he adds: "My sincere wish is that God and the law will protect you and that your personal integrity, your good name and your personal property shall suffer no harm."

The Communications

Following are the texts of the two communications:

Doctor
Julio Cesar Turbay
President of the Republic
Palacio de Narino
Bogota

Although messages addressed to your excellency are never answered, I wish nevertheless to inform you that the sinister paramilitary group MAS has threatened me in writing with death, and seeks to carry out such a step in light of the statements by not only the top military commands but also the top dignitaries of state holding that the defense of political prisoners and the exercising of the legal profession to assist the accused in courts-martial constitute a subversive activity. Besides having mounted a slanderous campaign against the Association of Democratic Jurists, the Human Rights Committee and the leftist candidate Gerardo Molina, it has tried to pit public opinion against us and in that way to justify any subsequent violence against us. I would like to know whether the government over which you preside intends to continue not taking a definitive stand with regard to the MAS, or whether it intends to prevent that group from continuing its activities impunely, halting its macabre advance without vacillation and without fear, as the newspaper EL TIEMPO has so well put it in its editorial of the 11th of this month. We consider that a tremendous responsibility toward the country is involved in permitting private justice and the death penalty to prevail in the face of inexplicable indifference on the part of the

government, presaging that we are moving toward a situation like that of Argentina, El Salvador or Guatemala, in which death squads scour the countryside impunely. I also inform you that, more for the historical record than anything else, I have reported to the attorney general of the nation the threats written by the MAS and the tailings in various vehicles by armed individuals, fundamentally giving rise to fears for my personal safety. Cordially, before being felled by MAS bullets.

Humberto Criales de La Rosa
Senator of the Republic

The President's Reply

Bogota, 18 March 1982

Humberto Criales de La Rosa
Senator of the Republic
Bogota

I refer to your telegram of 17 March and deplore the fact that you have written it, to its own detriment, in your language of injurious exaggerations. It is not true that high officials of the state, beginning with the president of the Republic, hold that exercising the functions of lawyer for the defense in court-martials constitutes subversive activity.

The very law governing courts-martial stipulates the need for the presence of the defense lawyer. You may be sure that your right to defend those accused of subversion is being denied you by no one and that on the contrary you will continue having due guaranties with respect to trial proceedings.

The minister of justice in a televised broadcast and the commander of the Armed Forces in Medellin were categorical in their condemnation of the MAS which you and your friends are seeking to label as an organization tolerated or protected by the government. This is not the case and anything said to the contrary lacks truth.

I regret that the criminal movement called MAS, using the terrorist tactics of subversion, has sent you written threats with the intent of harrassing you psychologically. You have done very well to denounce them to the attorney general of the Republic.

In Colombia, the death penalty is prohibited not only for private organizations; its application by judges is also prohibited. Have no fear that our country will become an Argentina, an El Salvador or a Guatemala. Neither should you harbor any illusions that we shall identify with Cuba or Nicaragua. Colombia has its democratic tradition, its own characteristics as a state governed by laws, and government leaders and legislators freely elected by the people. An adverse judgement of our judicial system as a whole is unwarranted, since we are not dealing here with a phenomenal judicial breakdown, although reforms may indeed be needed to make it more effective.

I have proceeded immediately to request the proper authorities to investigate the facts you have reported.

My sincere wish is that God and the law will protect you and that your personal integrity, your good name and your personal property shall suffer no harm.

Compatriot and President Turbay Ayala

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CSO: 3010/1323

PEACE COMMISSION ISSUES DOCUMENT ON ITS MISSION

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 24 Mar 82 pp 1-A, 6-A

[Text] The Peace Commission chaired by former President Carlos Lleras Restrepo has asked the government for safe-conduct for the guerrillas who want to meet with its members. It stated that whoever does so will enjoy full guarantees that he will not be imprisoned or physically harmed.

The Commission, says the document, will not in any way refuse to listen to the members of the subversive groups who, with or without the authorization of their comrades, would like to express their opinions about the pacification of the country, despite the terrorist activities of recent days and the aggressive statements made by the subversives who were arrested.

Decree 474 of 19 February, seeking to reestablish internal order, only granted amnesty to those who turned themselves in en masse and laid down their arms.

However, the new document by the Peace Commission proposes that those guerrillas who would like to discuss the pacification of the country also be listened to as individuals. It reiterates that there have been no contacts between the seditious leaders and the members of the subcommission created by the Peace Commission.

The text of the document reads as follows:

The chairman of the Peace Commission created by Decree 2761 of 8 October 1981, deems it appropriate to formulate for public knowledge certain statements related to the task entrusted to him by the National Government, thus:

The functions of the Commission consist basically of formulating secret recommendations to the government. The latter may accept all or part of these recommendations, or reject them. This body does not have the power to enter into agreements in the name of the government, although it is clear that it could be very useful to establish contact with the different groups that have taken up arms, in order to examine their points of view and inform them, in turn, of what the Commission deems reasonable and possible in terms of the legal status of those who have been involved in subversive movements, to study the best way for them to rejoin a life of normality and work, and

also to exercise the right, never denied them, to participate in political activity, adhering to constitutional and legal norms.

The problems inherent in establishing such contact cannot be hidden from public opinion. There are many subversive groups, and no one represents them all; since the Commission began its work, no group has made any serious attempt to communicate with it, although a relatively considerable number of people, linked in one way or another to guerrilla activity, have turned themselves in to authorities, frequently with the mediation of the delegates of the Peace Commission who are mentioned below. Only the M-19 has published a bulletin unilaterally outlining its conditions: total amnesty for all types of crime, immediate lifting of martial law, and repeal of the so-called "security statute;" and everything is headed by this phrase: "Through Arms to Power." This slogan is certainly not compatible with the repeated claims that this group wants to act within the norms of the republic and utilize only the democratic means of peaceful propaganda and the exercise of suffrage.

Despite the terrorist activities that have taken place in recent days, and the aggressive statements made by people who for the most part have been arrested or tried for crimes which have not been covered by the exemption from penal action or punishment provided by Decree 474 of 1982, the Commission will not refuse in any way to listen to the members of subversive groups who, with or without the authorization of their comrades, would like to express their opinions about the pacification of the country. The Commission has requested that the National Government grant, when appropriate, safe-conduct to those who wish to meet with it. It will name the place where it will meet with them, will give them full guarantees that they will not be imprisoned, and will ensure their personal safety. The same guarantees will be enjoyed by those who do not belong to the armed groups but are chosen by them as intermediaries.

The Commission has always felt that the pacification of the country is not something that can be obtained overnight, or in one act of government. It has been methodically studying the different aspects of the problem. First it recommended that the Government regulate, as it did, the enforcement of Article 28 of the National Constitution. Then it made recommendations concerning exemption from penal action or penalties for those who are involved in infractions against the constitutional order of the state; the chairman of the Commission is now conducting a careful study of the efficacy of such a measure, and it will later be submitted to his fellow commissioners for their consideration. He is also studying the situation of those who are being tried for or have been convicted of related crimes that are not covered by that exemption, without undermining the foundations of the legal order and social coexistence, and taking into consideration the behavior of subversive groups and the willingness of their leaders to promote peace. At the same time, he has looked at ways to facilitate the incorporation of armed groups into legitimate activities, as well as what should be done in the outlying regions where these groups have been operating, whose material situation can and should be subject to substantial improvement.

More general and far-reaching changes related to the country's economic and social situation are within the normal purview of the executive branch and the representative bodies.

Martial law is declared, according to the Constitution, when there is a disturbance of the public order; and it should be lifted when such disturbance ends. The whole nation should understand, and above all those who have taken up arms should understand, that the restoration of peace should precede the lifting of martial law, and not vice-versa.

Under martial law, the decrees concerning the repression of the drug traffic have been promulgated. It is obvious that such a delicate matter must be the subject of a law, and the Commission understands that the government is preparing such legislation to be presented to Congress. The fact that a continuous solution may lie in the effectiveness and enforcement of the provisions on drugs is beyond the Peace Commission's jurisdiction. However, it cannot help but recognize the importance of this problem.

The so-called "security statute" is, for the most part, a reproduction of provisions dictated by different governments in the past which were enforced only temporarily; it also has police norms which modify those of the code in question, and modifications of duration, also temporary, of the penal and penal procedure codes. The Commission is conducting a careful study to determine which provisions of the Decree could be repealed, which reforms would be advisable, and what are the possibilities of drafting a bill that would protect the security of the state while also safeguarding the civil rights and guarantees contained in the Constitution and in the country's international commitments, against any possible abuse. The National Government fully shares these viewpoints.

The Commission is preparing recommendations regarding the clarification of some provisions of Decree 474 of 1982, and exercising the faculty conferred upon it by that same Decree, it has designated the illustrious Bishop of Florencia and Drs Fabio Pena and Jorge Olaya to be special delegates to receive the statements of those in the department of Caqueta who wish to take advantage of that Decree, and to witness the laying down of arms, if appropriate. The special delegates have already been carrying out that function as a result of their informal designation.

The Commission is naming special delegates for other regions of the Republic.

According to Article 18 of Decree 474, the Peace Commission may form committees "which, after hearing those who have complied with Articles 1 and 2 of this Decree, shall prepare and submit to the Commission plans to facilitate the incorporation of said citizens into normal economic activity. Such plans shall also take into consideration the needs of the region affected by activities contrary to public order." These plans should be submitted by the Commission to the government.

For the department of Caqueta, the Commission has resolved to form a committee made up of the governor of the department, the commander of the Ninth Brigade; Ernesto Daza Vaca, regional manager of the Colombian Agrarian Reform Institute (INCORA); Amparo Ossa, regional manager of the Agrarian Fund; and the special delegates mentioned above.

The Commission reaffirms the concept that inspired its designation: that it rejects any form of violence, and that it is the exclusive duty of the legitimate authorities to repress all forms of common or political criminality.

ARMS, DRUGS DEALER BOLANOS PACHECO ARRESTED

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 27 Jan 82 pp 1-A, 11-A

[Article by Rafael Sarmiento Colley]

[Excerpt] Barranquilla, 26 Jan--The mafioso who headed the entire arms shipment operation destined for the M-19, Teodulo Rafael Bolanos Pacheco, was captured by the Colombian authorities on the Santa Marta beaches after a pursuit of several weeks.

Bolanos Pacheco was the partner of Jaime Guillot, who sold the arsenal. He was one of the most wanted men in America, because he was the "key" to the whole operation.

Sources from the police and the Second Brigade confirmed that the prisoner "is one of the mafiosos linked to the sale of arms to the subversive groups which are operating in the country."

Although the commander of the Second Brigade, Brigadier General Jaime Hernandez Lopez, declined to make any statement on the matter, he confirmed that the aforementioned individual had been arrested in Santa Marta and that today at 1000 hours he was turned over to the military unit under his command.

But sources which are completely reliable pointed out that Bolanos Pacheco "was the king-pin in the operations involved in transporting the arms shipment which was taken into the interior of the country on the Aeropesca airplane," the same one which later turned up abandoned in the Orteguzza River.

Background

"He is a man who is well known in the drug trafficking circles," added the police source.

In Santa Marta, sources close to the F-2 stated that Bolanos Pacheco "has a record as a person involved in drug trafficking," but they did not give any more informatinn.

He Supposedly Travelled to Medellin

According to the military source, Bolanos Pacheco was supposedly the one chosen to travel to Medellin to hire the Aeropesca airplane which transported

the arms shipment to the interior of the country. For this purpose, he passed himself off as an official of the Electric Corporation of the Atlantic Coast, Corelca, which had to transport electrical equipment from a place in this region of the country to one of the company's plants. According to the authorities who are investigating the case, "the linking of Bolanos to this operation was made thanks to his friendship with Jaime Guillot Lara, who appears to be the person who established contact with the native drug-trafficking mafia and the Cuban authorities who supply arms to the M-19 group.

This version of the contact between the native mafia and the 19 of April Movement was published by EL TIEMPO as an international exclusive in November of last year.

On that occasion, thanks to sources which are entirely reliable, we stated that Jaime Guillot Lara had supplied arms to the M-19 and that the National Navy had sunk them when they wiped out the boat "Karina" which according to our sources belongs to Guillot.

Who is Bolanos Pacheco?

According to a source in the F-2 Barranquilla, "Bolanos Pacheco is a known drug-trafficker who had his own business. He made his deals separately, but as has been customary in this activity, the major figures often form a sort of 'pool' to organize what they call big shipments in which each one brings his share of 'merchandise' (be it marihuana or cocaine) and of 'work elements' such as boats, airplanes, personnel, contacts, bribed officials. In these conditions, he frequently made deals in league with Guillot and other "big fish" of drug trafficking who live or were living in our city.

"He went frequently to Guillot's office here on Calle Murillo and 51st Avenue, on the second floor of that building. All this is now closed up. He also owns many boats."

Bolanos was arrested on Sunday in the Gaira cabins, in a red camper with licence plates PK-4714. He is a native of Dibulla, Guajira, the place where he moored the boat which possibly brought the arsenal from a Caribbean island, supposedly Cuba, and later was transferred to the interior of the country on the Aeropesca airplane.

The Operation

According to military sources, the entire operation of loading and unloading the arms was led "personally by Jaime Guillot and Teodulo. But we are missing other persons who collaborated with them and whose trails we have clearly established."

As EL TIEMPO stated exclusively last November, the shipment was brought from a Caribbean island, supposedly Cuba, on the Colombian fishing boat "Zar," hired by the mafia on the island of San Andres. According to military sources, there is the version that initially the "Karina" --a boat which is "camouflaged" with the Honduran flag, but which according to the investigators is

Colombian, property of Jaime Guillot --brought the arms from the Caribbean country and left them at a clandestine port in Panamanian territory.

There, the "Zar" collected them and took them to the coasts of La Guajira, more precisely the "Laguna Grande," near Dibulla.

On 21 October of last year, the day when the groups of the Extreme Left organized the national patriotic work-stoppage, the operation of unloading the arms took place on the Aeropesca airplane hijacked on a flight which the same day took off from Medellin headed for Barranquilla.

Before 21 October, EL TIEMPO also published the exclusive story that the leftist groups would carry out on that day various acts of violence. They would take over districts of the towns, schools and factories and burn vehicles so as to distract the attention of the authorities while the groups in charge of moving the arms were carrying out their operation without major risks.

It was pointed out that the hijacked airplane could not carry the entire arsenal and that it left with half, and because of technical difficulties coming back for the rest, the shipment was thrown into the water of the Laguna Grande, where it was recovered by the military forces of Colombia. The other shipment, as it has been widely stated, was collected by the "Karina" on the Atlantic coast and later a coast guard vessel of the National Navy bombarded this boat and sank the cargo. Previously, the Panamanian authorities had informed their Colombian colleagues that a boat was making "peculiar" trips through the canal, going from the Atlantic coast to the Colombian Pacific. According to the military authorities, "indeed, this was the strategy."

On Order From the Army

At noon today Teodulo Rafael Bolanos Pacheco was remanded to the Second Brigade with headquarters in Barranquilla. He was captured on Sunday in El Rodadero by the Judicial Police and charged with having ties to the gangs of drug traffickers who were selling arms to the subversive groups, as reported the correspondent from Santa Marta, Walter Martinez.

Bolanos, 42, from Dibulla (Guajira) and a resident of the Gaira cabins, south of El Rodadero, was arrested while driving his vehicle, a red camper with tent, license plates PK-474, which was seized and also placed at the disposition of the military authorities.

The capture of the arms trafficker was the result of a silent pursuit which the F-2 has been making, which for days tracked the accused who is linked to the international drug mafia and of whom it is said that he supplied powerful arms to the M-19.

The investigations for this trial have brought to prison in Santa Marta various individuals as presumptive suspects with ties to this criminal organization, but subsequently they were released by the military trial court assigned to the Cordoba battalion.

More Arms Found

Significant seizures of arms from criminals and guerilla groups were carried out by the army during the last few days in La Guajira, Santander and North of Santander.

In Florian (Santander), troops from the First Brigade captured Silvio Alcides Rodriguez, a member of the FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia] and from whom they seized a 22-caliber rifle and a 7.65 pistol.

In the village of Primavera, in Cimitarra (Santander), troops from the Operative Command Number 10 encountered an arms cache of the FARC abandoned at a residence. It was made up of an M-1 carbine, a Remington 20-Caliber shotgun, 70 cartridges of 30 caliber, 7 magazines for an M-1 carbine, 4 containers of dynamite, 4 slow fuses and a home-made bomb.

Others

In Maicao (Guajira), troops from the Tarea Rondon Group confiscated a 30-caliber rifle, a 44-caliber Winchester, another 16-caliber one, a 38-caliber revolver and 6 cartridges.

On the Rancheria-Uribia road, in La Guajira, the regular troops found in an abandoned house a 22-caliber rifle, two 30-caliber rifles, a 12-caliber shotgun, a 44-caliber shotgun, a Winchester shotgun, spare parts for arms, 8 cartridges for 30-caliber rifles and 25 shells for 44 Caliber shotguns.

On the Potrerito ranch, in the village of Trinidad, of the district of El Aserrio (North of Santander), troops from the Fifth Brigade seized a 22-caliber rifle, an 8.5-caliber shotgun, a 38-caliber revolver, 19 cartridges for 30-caliber rifles, 217 munitions of various caliber, dynamite, percussion caps and 150 bales of marihuana.

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CSO: 3010/749

DROP IN PAYMENT OF INCOME TAXES BY CITIZENS

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 7 Mar 82 p 3-A

[Article by Fernando Barrero Ch.: "Only 53 Percent of Colombians Pay"]

[Text] Although in 1974, 74 percent of the Colombians required to submit income and capital tax returns complied with that obligation, this figure dropped 4 years later to a disturbing 53 percent, it was disclosed by expert Gabriel Rosas Vega.

"Simply stated," said Rosas, in commenting on this as one of the factors that has contributed to the fiscal deficit, which is estimated today at over \$50 billion, "businesses and individuals are not paying their taxes as they should."

Rosas Vegas, dean of the economics school of the Universidad Javeriana, asserted that the tax structure is faulty, that the budget is being implemented in an unbalanced manner, and that evasion is undermining the tax scaffolding.

Referring to fiscal bankruptcy, Rosas cited four aspects of policy that he considers fundamental and that "unfortunately have not been addressed in proper depth and much less been the object of concrete action toward their proper treatment."

He then cited in this regard the tax administration, the tax rates, the cost effectiveness of the system from the standpoint of budgetary processing and control, and the true competence of what he called the "secondary domains."

Rosas, former secretary general of the Ministry of Finance, said that what is hindering the internal revenue system in Colombia is its "extremely poor administration," which engenders loss of control and public amorality.

"Without fear of being mistaken, I could flatly state that the country does not need new taxes; what it needs is proper administration of those that already exist," said Rosas.

He explained that 1981 revenues from taxes on income represented 25.8 percent of total revenues, whereas in 1970 they accounted for 48.1 percent.

He considers this percentage ridiculous in proportion to the direct tax revenue potential and the evolution of taxable income levels. "Moreover," he said. "the incremental revenue was only 13.5 percent compared to 25.6 percent in 1980."

Citing figures on the projected number of persons obligated to submit returns, versus returns actually submitted, he gave the following:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Projected</u>	<u>Submitted</u>	<u>Compliance (Percentage)</u>
1974	2,437,087	1,923,903	79
1975	2,578,377	1,787,578	69
1976	3,092,602	2,188,989	70
1977	3,460,463	1,995,590	58
1978	3,779,682	2,007,895	53

Rosas indicated that according to tax inspectors very little is done in the present circumstances by way of proceedings before the Tax Directorate, because unscrupulous and unchecked employees within the revenue service take it upon themselves to settle problems.

"But there is more: The revenue yield is constantly decreasing, owing to the growth rate of the bureaucratic apparatus and the inefficient administrative structure. No legislation of any kind designed to discourage tax fraud through penalty has even been considered by the Congress. Paradoxically, there has even been the case of outright and total opposition by Parliament to initiatives of this kind," said Rosas, who is also the former secretary of the IACCP [Inter-American Council of Commerce and Production].

Tax Rates

With respect to tax rates in Colombia, Rosas said that although international comparisons do not reveal too high a tax burden, owing to its faulty distribution, it must be admitted that "beginning with the 1974 reform, the tax rates imposed on natural persons discouraged outright the payment of taxes."

"It is a fact that for a tax system to function properly, the rates must reconcile two basic aspects: The real ability to pay (income levels and the price situation are fundamental factors in its determination) and the expectations of the taxpayers as regards the return they will receive from the government in terms of public services," he added.

He affirmed that given the magnitude of the increase in tax rates and the widespread distrust in the governments capacity for satisfying the pressing needs of the citizenry, those on whom the tax burden falls have simply opted for not complying with their obligation.

"A revision of the rates and of the indiscriminate privileges granted to capital returns by Law 20, and a return of confidence to the taxpayers, should be the central points of future tax policy," said Rosas.

Cost Effectiveness

"Though the Bird-Wiesner report addresses the problem of expenditure and its effectiveness," according to Rosas, "it neglects the issue of the drawing up and execution of the budget, the fundamental tool for the proper management of the nation's finances and, in large measure the problems that characterize the control of expenditures. Perhaps because of the clear guidelines set for the study, these issues were not adequately dealt with.

"Whatever may have been the reasons, one fact needs to be stressed: In Colombia, due attention has not been centered on the planning of public spending and its control. In effect," he said, "the casuistry that ensues from a lack of clear objectives in the formulation of public expenditures, from the lack of continuity in the execution of different projects, from the nonapplication of the elementary principle of cost effectiveness of the expenditure, and from the absence of a methodology for evaluating and controlling public expenditures, renders the work of budgeting deficient and, what is more serious, prevents it from responding to the imperious necessity of contributing effectively to the distribution of income, given the limitations of the tax system for doing so."

In this respect, he advanced four proposals:

First: The present scheme of control must be changed. Control cannot be limited to drawing up a budget and establishing spending procedures; strictly speaking, it must determine how a given expenditure is related to the government's general objectives. It must be an administrative process covering three stages: Defining the objectives and the resources to be used to attain them; ensuring that those resources are used to attain those objectives; and verifying that the specific tasks involved are being carried effectively and efficiently.

The point of departure for the formulation of an adequate budgetary policy is the concretion of economic and social growth in a well structured program.

Despite the reservations of many persons with regard to planning, there can be no question that the need for planning is not a matter of personal whim. It stems from the limitations of human beings and from the rigidity of the physical environment that surrounds us. Definitively, it is not sufficient to invoke the Constitution and say that the general well-being is being catered. Well-being has meaning only in terms of its component parts and the choice that can be made among those component parts.

Second: For economic planning to be effective, there must be a system that lends itself to easy general and analytic understanding of the data relative to social accounts, preferably with tabulated input-output analyses based on those data. Macroeconomic data as well as the individual data that enter into social accounts

are equally necessary to measure economic progress and to formulate national, and even international, policies with respect to the economy, the currency and fiscal coordination.

It follows from the foregoing proposition that the dynamic of progress makes imperative the institution of an effective and understandable accounting methodology and praxis that will satisfy both microeconomic and macroeconomic objectives.

Third: Set forth though it is by legal language and upheld though it is by certain experts, the formulation of our budget does not agree with or does not fully meet the standards of the technique of budgeting by way of programs. Experience has shown that our method of budgeting differs vastly from the theoretical scheme; unfortunately, our basic programming rationale is the old routine, the established custom. According to the United Nations, a budget based on programs and activities "is a system in which particular attention is paid to the things a government accomplishes rather than to the things it acquires."

Fourth and last: Our system of comptrollership must be radically changed. The political incapability of the Congress to face up to a government--the content of Article 130 of the Constitution becomes a dead letter in practice through the connivance of the majority of the members of the parliamentary body with the executive branch--together with the unwillingness to exercise to the fullest the function of the treasurer and the predominantly political character inherent in the election of the comptroller, render seriously questionable the auditing function of this body.

Secondary Domains

The figures reveal that the strengthening of the so-called secondary domains--departments and municipalities--has been possible but at the expense of weakening the central government. Three facts attest this judgement: During the last several years, the greater proportion of the public sector's tax revenues has been collected by the central government; these revenues, unlike those of the departments and municipalities, have been characterized by an elasticity with respect to the gross domestic product greater than unity. Furthermore, the central government has been the only one capable of generating sufficient savings for investment in significant quantity.

"Thus, within a process that I would call fiscal laziness, the secondary domains have, paradoxically, been strengthened--a contradictory situation in no way advisable for the proper functioning of the overall public finance system," said Rosas.

Lastly, Rosas observed:

"Investment expenditures are another aspect of fiscal policy that, because of the serious effects it is having on global strategy, bears looking into very closely. The privilege it enjoys of not being beholden to political pressure for its actualization cannot continue justifying the residuary treatment it receives."

9238

CSO: 3010/1323

COLTEJER PRESIDENT DISCUSSES TEXTILE CRISIS

Bogota CROMOS in Spanish 30 Mar 82 pp 32-33

[Interview with COLTEJER President Carlos Upegui by Ligia Riveros; date, time and place not given]

[Text] His door is always open. Since he started studying law at the University of Antioquia, he has viewed dialog as the best way to understand problems and solve them. Carlos Upegui is so straightforward that he gives one the impression of having known him all one's life. He has been president of the Colombian Textile Company (COLTEJER), the most important textile firm in Colombia, for 4 years. He knows every detail about its exports, imports, consumption and contribution to the economy.

At this time negotiations between COLTEJER's union and the board of directors of this 8,000-employee firm, are in the final stages because the textile firm, like the other manufacturers in the conflict, has presented a counter-proposal.

"It is not the same to seek solutions during boom times as during crises such as the one the textile industry is going through now," states Upegui. "It is imperative that the interests of the workers be merged with those of investors and especially those of the consumer, because the latter is the key to any possibility of industrial development. It is difficult to compete on the international market at the same time, because we all know that while in other countries incentives are provided for exporters, in Colombia there is no such thing, nor is there protection or cooperation from the government, such as other countries enjoy.

Lack of Defense

[Question] It has always been remarked that the textile industry is prosperous. Why is there now talk of a crisis?

[Answer] The crisis began to appear because of market problems. That is, 3 years ago we realized that the problem of contraband was due to production surpluses that had not been absorbed by international consumers. Unfortunately, since our system does not have very effective defenses, during the first months of the crisis some ready-made clothing managed to get into the

country. From that time on a sales network was created that was so well organized, so well financed, that it damaged the traditional Colombian industry, which had been providing jobs in this country.

[Question] Why weren't appropriate measures taken to prevent the contraband from reaching such proportions? As I understand, in 1981, 28 million meters of fabric entered the country.

[Answer] Once we spotted the first signs, we appealed to public opinion and the government to put into effect the mechanism known as "defense of national employment." This smuggling is really hitting the industry hard, and therefore employment too. We asked at the same time for measures similar to those enjoyed by foreign producers: curbs on contraband through every means possible. The government asked that we engage in modernization programs. We began them, and we have already completed them. But what happened? While foreign competitors were able to carry out this modernization with long-term development credit, with grace periods and low interest rates, we had to do it by using the non-bank market at high interest rates. Thus, our production also has to bear the burden of financing costs that foreign competitors are not subject to; they receive economic incentives from their government because of the volume of exports, something that does not happen in Colombia.

"Serious Labor Class"

Carlos Upegui has always tried to maintain good relations with the unionists in his firm, and he has been successful.

"We have," he asserts, "a serious labor class. I think this sector in Colombia, to a great extent, is well-prepared and conscientious; it tries to cooperate to prevent the business from going under. Therein lies the problem. Workers' demands should be flexible enough to avoid damage. Sometimes the workers feel the businessman is someone "different." We produce to sell, and depending on how much we sell, we share our profits first with the workers, and then if anything is left over, with investors and stockholders.

[Question] Is it true that through their unions the workers are asking for wage raises that are so high they could bankrupt the businesses?

[Answer] No. I have never claimed that. The first thing the union is expected to do is seek the stability of the firm, even at the cost of sacrifices. If the automobile industry has been able to do it, why not the textile industry? Several companies have been on the verge of going under in the United States, but the workers have made sacrifices; they have joined together and are seeking certain agreements, and they are coming out ahead with their problems. They save the business first, then they make their demands.

"Hostile Businessman Left Behind"

[Question] Workers from different companies maintain that they are persecuted just because they belong to a union.

[Answer] I feel that unions are necessary. Otherwise, how could we talk to 9,000 or 10,000 people who are trying to negotiate wage increases and present various demands? I have to bear in mind that the businessman's obligation is to preserve the corporation for the worker himself, for the investor, and at the same time for the stability of the national economy. Now, I think the union is important. The businessman who has a hostile attitude toward unionism has been left behind, just like a machine discarded because it is obsolete.

In the words of this businessman, who was born in Fredonia, was an excellent student, was president of Radio Cadena Nacional and now runs COLTEJER with an open-door policy, "Colombia is a promissory country where the human factor is vital to development."

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CSO: 3010/1363

RESERVES DOWN, 'SINISTER WINDOW' RECEIPTS UP

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 22 Mar 82 pp 1-A, 8-A

[Article by Fernando Barrero Ch.]

[Text] The country's foreign reserves dropped for the first time in 5 years, while revenues from what is known as the "sinister window" continued to rise, according to official statistics compiled by the Bank of the Republic.

The level of reserves at the beginning of March was US \$5.534 billion, a drop of US \$95.5 million from the level 2 months earlier. During that 2-month period, US \$71.8 million came in through the "window," representing a 32.5 percent increase over the same period of 1981.

It is presumed that dollars produced by the trafficking of marihuana and cocaine have passed through this "window," amounting to a total of US \$328.9 million in all of 1981, according to preliminary figures of the Bank of the Republic.

The reserves are a kind of guarantee that enables Colombia to participate in international markets. In 1981 these reserves netted US \$613.4 million in interest.

Of that amount, US \$115.7 million entered the country in the first 2 months of 1981, as compared to US \$92.6 million in the same period of 1982, a 20 percent decline.

The bank also reported that during the first 2 months of this year, income from exports (coffee and minor products) rose to US \$415.9 million, 3.5 percent less than the US \$430.8 million brought in during the same period of 1981.

The greatest drop was in coffee, which went from US \$241.9 million to US \$227.1 million, a 6 percent decrease. Non-traditional exports, paradoxically, held at the same level, US \$188 million, during the two periods.

Imports, in turn, dropped from US \$593.4 million to US \$544.5 million, an 8.2 percent fall. The most important decline was in oil purchases, which fell from US \$92.9 million in the first 2 months of 1981 to US \$45.3 million (51.2 percent) during the same period of 1982.

According to the Bank of the Republic, in all of 1981 the country spent US \$549 million on oil imports, or just over 30 billion Colombian pesos, calculating the dollar at 56.00 pesos. According to predictions and the latest revelations, it is possible that this figure will drop significantly during 1982.

An encouraging indicator from the Bank is that international coffee prices were at US \$1.56 per pound on 9 March, an increase of US \$0.03 over the previous week, of US \$0.13 so far this year, and US \$0.33 for the entire year.

The Bank also reported that at the end of the first 2 months of 1982, the money supply reached \$255.304 billion, which is 21.4 percent greater than last year's figure. This growth continues within the budgets of monetary authorities, who have established a goal of 18 to 22 percent growth.

The control of the means of payment is important for economists, because if they grow by very much, it means that there is more money circulating in the population, so the public can demand more goods and services, thereby stimulating a widespread increase in prices.

The Bank reported statistics on national savings, and indicated that they have grown by 8.6 percent so far in 1982, and that the figure for the last complete year (February 1981 - February 1982) was 49.4 percent.

Bank passbook savings went from \$58.338 billion in 1981 (February) to \$70.042 billion a year later, a 20 percent increase. Deposits in Savings Certificates with Constant Purchasing Power (UPACs) rose from \$98.397 billion to \$139.858 billion, a 42.1 percent jump.

Time Deposit Certificates (CDT) in banks leaped from \$64.333 billion to \$126.661 billion, a 96.9 percent increase. CDTs in financial corporations went from \$20.098 billion to \$28.651 billion, a 42.6 percent rise.

Mortgage Bonds, in contrast, grew by only 4.5 percent, going from \$11.778 billion to \$12.310 billion. There were increases in Dependable Bonds (16.9 percent) and in others (3.3 percent), but Solid Bonds dropped 4.2 percent.

Economic development bonds (classes B, F, G and J) fell from \$4.906 billion at the end of February 1981 to \$4.032 billion during the same period of 1982, a 17.8 percent decline. Coffee bonds also dropped, from \$4.334 billion to \$3.812 billion, or 12.0 percent.

In total, national savings (also known as financial assets) grew from \$263.91 billion to \$394.376 billion.

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010: 3010/1363

FUTURE COSTA RICAN MINISTER ON SECURITY

FL221900 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1623 GMT 22 Apr 82

[By Jose Carreno, special NOTIMEX correspondent]

[Excerpts] San Jose, Costa Rica, 22 Apr (NOTIMEX)--The Central American situation is "dangerous to the political and social stability of Costa Rica," Alfonso Carro, Costa Rica's next minister of the interior, told NOTIMEX. Security has become a new subject of interest for that small country of 2.5 million inhabitants which 33 years ago decided not to maintain an army.

In an exclusive interview granted to this news agency, he added: "We do not have a national security system, we have scattered elements." But, he said, his country now faces security problems as much from inside the country as from outside. As far as internal problems, he said, they emerge as much from purely common crimes as from the possibilities of extremist subversion. Common crime has increased so much, Carro said, "that Costa Rica has lost the security which prevailed 10 years ago," because of the robberies, assaults and smuggling out of the country.

Referring to Costa Rica's lack of control over foreign residents, Carro said: "We must formulate a new alien and immigration policy."

In an area convulsed by political violence and a grave internal economic crisis, the new Costa Rican administration taking the reins on 8 May, will establish new specialized forces to concentrate its fight against subversion and the drug traffic.

For the first time in the last few decades, Costa Ricans are talking about a national security policy as they face problems emerging from internal common crimes, subversion and the troubled Central American political situation.

Carro said: "Costa Rica is living over a volcano. This country is not aware of the processes taking place in its society." He said that there are terrorist groups in the country which could be joined by hundreds of people. According to government sources, this country, considered the most democratic in all of Central America, "has experienced some outbreaks of political and terrorist violence."

According to officials interviewed, that problem "has just begun to rear its head," and specifically Carro said that Costa Rican society had terrorist elements ready to plan actions of this kind "in much greater volume" within the forthcoming months. "We have evidence of young people who have gone for training in foreign countries, some under Marxist regimes and others where there is great political violence," said Carro who attributed his information to a "former minister of public security." He said that in that sense he was specifically talking about Cuba, Nicaragua and the region under the influence of the PLO.

"We must reorganize the two police forces (civil and rural) we have so that in the forthcoming months we may detect any kind of threat to the security of the country and its citizens," he said. The new administration plans to merge the police and paramilitary forces into a single force and make it more professional, although this is reportedly being opposed by Monge. The two forces have a total of some 7,000 men but the most of them will change at the same time as the government. "They will leave when their party is no longer in power," complained one official.

The new administration is even studying the possibility of establishing two or three security units, which will be trained to deal mainly with subversion and drug-trafficking and will probably be part of the existing guards.

It is also expected that the National Security Agency--currently a small office equivalent to an intelligence service in other countries--will be reinforced.

On behalf of the new government, Carro refuted that there is any intent to create an armed forces equivalent to an army. "The new guard will be organized on a civic-minded, humanistic basis and must be aware of the limitations of its authority," he said.

In order to reorganize these units, the Costa Ricans will request the aid of various countries which have, in fact, offered this aid earlier. According to reliable sources among these countries are: the United States, the FRG, Israel, Spain, France, Japan, Taiwan and South Korea.

Even though the security unit or units which will be created, will not be supplied with military weapons, the Costa Ricans are perfectly aware of the risks they are running by assembling a professional paramilitary force, especially taking into account that the country has no army.

"All these processes may degenerate but we must keep them in line," Carro said. However, he disregarded the possibility that the Costa Rican Communist Party has anything to do with the extremist groups which have been reportedly established. He indicated that this party is "very institutional-minded" and it feels that conditions are not appropriate for a Marxist revolution.

Carro indicated that in the final analysis, "we do not feel any imminent threats from the extreme right or the extreme left." The extreme rightwing groups here are headed by the "Free Costa Rican Movement" which is staunchly anti-communist and has been reportedly stockpiling arms.

Alfonso Carro told NOTIMEX that Costa Rica will not give up "a single inch of its soil" to subvert the existing order in Nicaragua. Nicaragua is the main foreign source of concern for those responsible for Costa Rica's security.

The common border is the ideal place for anti-Sandinist groups to try to create problems for the Nicaraguan Government and also for the activities of Sandinista groups. However, Carro said, "We do not want border problems."

For the first time in the last few decades the Costa Ricans have begun to speak about a national security policy, in view of domestic problems related to common crime, subversion, and the unstable political situation in Central America.

In fact, the Costa Ricans believe that the border that is more liable to give them problems is the one with Nicaragua. First, because Costa Rica--a staunchly conservative country--believes that its neighbors have gone too far along the Marxist path and also because they feel that this border gives shelter to alleged local terrorists.

"We must maintain active (border) surveillance, even though it could be very costly. The border is extremely favorable to clandestine activities," Carro said, adding that the administration of president-elect Luis Alberto Monge does not want to have any problems with Nicaragua when it takes over on 8 May.

He recalled that Costa Rica does not need to defend itself from foreign aggressions since for this it relies on inter-American organizations such as the Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty (TIAR) which frees the country from the need to maintain armed forces, Carros pointed out. He emphasized that "the Costa Ricans have learned to live without an army."

However, Carro himself admitted that "there is an enormous ideological gap between the Sandinistas and ourselves," and therefore, he believes that should there be any problems in the future "they would be coming from Nicaragua."

Carro admitted that Costa Rica's economic woes currently prevent it from maintaining a strict surveillance of the common border but he made it very clear that his country does not wish to get involved in another "adventure" like being the base for attacks on the governments of other countries.

He stressed that in Nicaragua's specific case, domestic Nicaraguan problems must be settled in Nicaragua, obviously having in mind recent remarks by former Sandinista Commander Eden Pastora who last week threatened to "blast out" his former comrades.

At the same time Carro indicated that Nicaragua and Cuba had served as training camps for Costa Rican youths who wanted to set up subversive cells in their country.

He explained that the northern part of Costa Rica is heavily penetrated by Nicaraguan radio and television and announced that the new administration plans to increase coverage in these areas, especially in Guanacaste Province, through national radio and television stations.

The Costa Ricans, who have begun to experience isolated extremist actions, believe that domestic subversion contains foreign elements and is subject to influence from abroad. This, at least, seems to be the position of President-elect Luis Alberto Monge who has reportedly sent three secret messages to Cuba, Nicaragua and the local Communist Party warning them against supporting subversion unless they wanted Costa Rica to implement the appropriate measures.

According to sources close to the incoming administration, Costa Rica has indicated that should there be a conflict involving Nicaragua and its northern neighbors, Costa Rica will request that its border with Nicaragua be internationalized.

This internationalization will include a request addressed to the OAS to set up a "peacemaking force" which would patrol the border between Costa Rica and Nicaragua, according to the sources questioned by NOTIMEX.

The Central American situation "is very dangerous for Costa Rica's political and social stability" according to Carro, who insisted that the greatest threats to his country definitely come from abroad.

CSO: 3010/1436

SPEECH BY FIDEL CASTRO TO YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 18 Apr 82 pp 2-5

[Text]

Speech given by Commander in Chief Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the Councils of State and of Ministers, at the closing session of the 4th Congress of the Young Communist League, held at the Karl Marx Theater, April 4, 1982, Year 24 of the Revolution

(TRANSLATION OF THE TRANSCRIPT MADE BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STENOGRAPHIC TRANSCRIPTS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE)

Distinguished Visiting Delegations;

Comrade Delegates to the 4th Congress;

Cuban Comrades:

AS WE all know, the 4th Congress ends today, on the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Young Communist League (UJC). While I was formulating some ideas and reviewing notes for this event it occurred to me to look over what I had said 20 years ago, on April 4, 1962, (AP-PLAUSE) and I really couldn't resist the temptation to recall some of those words and ideas here today; both because of the contrast between the situation prevailing then and now and because of the fact that many aspects of the situation are unchanged.

Twenty years ago I said: "Why are we making a Revolution? Are we making it in our interest? No! We're making the Revolution in your interest. Are we making the Revolution for us? No! We're making the Revolution for you. Can we make the Revolution by ourselves? No! But we can make the Revolution with you."

And further on I said: "We have perhaps encountered the hardest, most difficult situations; we have faced that stage of the Revolution when ideas have to blaze a trail through the forest of prejudices, habits, customs and ideas of the old society."

"We have had to do battle with the entire legacy of the past. But we must admit that we were deeply moved, we felt well rewarded when we started to see in you the fruits of the Revolution we are building, when we started to see in this multitude of young people the people of tomorrow, when we started to see in you the image of the future, when we started to see the justice of the course of the Revolution reflected in you."

"We believe in young people... believing in young people means an attitude, believing in young people means a way of thinking."

"All the blood that was shed was worthwhile and all the sacrifices that were made, if we can say this: our society will be a society without exploiters or exploited, without privilege or discrimination!"

"Every citizen will become used to viewing a fellow human being not as an enemy, not as a beast against which he has to protect himself, but as a truly human person, as a brother or sister who can help him in time of trouble; he will not see his fellow as a superior or inferior being, but as an equal; merit will take the place of privilege, for merit will be what distinguishes one citizen from another since merit will be the only rule by which a citizen is judged."

"In order to belong to this organization you must give clear and incontrovertible proof of being truly a model young person, a young person truly worthy of being called a Young Communist."

"...being a Young Communist does not entail privileges of any kind; on the contrary, it means sacrifice and dedication...."

"Nobody is obliged to join the UJC: it is an absolutely free association of revolutionary youth...."

"...you must have courage to be a Young Communist... dedication... vocation.... If you are a student you must be the very best student; if you are a factory worker you must be a model factory worker; you must set an example as a comrade... an example of self-sacrifice and determination, you must set an example at work, in your studies, in sports, and in your relations with other comrades."

"The Young Communist must above all be a modest comrade; modesty is one of the primary virtues of a revolutionary."

"And the Young Communist must also be willing to give his life for the Revolution and for his or her country without hesitating.... The character and the concept of a Young Communist must contain all those traits, all those features, all those virtues so that being a Young Communist will truly be the greatest, most significant and notable honor any young person can aspire to."

"It is important for our young people to understand that their work and their example will be useful not only to their own country but also to all the peoples of Latin America.... That is why your mission is so important, for you are not only the standard-bearers of the future, of the most perfect society possible, of Communist society; not only the standard-bearers of the ideas of the future, but also

the example... the standard-bearers of the ideals of all the youth of Latin America."

To all this we might add that you set the example and are the standard-bearers of the ideals of young people all over the world.

IT IS UNQUESTIONABLY CORRECT TO SAY THAT THIS ORGANIZATION HAS PLAYED, IS PLAYING NOW AND WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT ROLE

Even though those words were said as early as the beginning of 1962 we had no qualms about proposing the name "Young Communist League" for the new organization. Even then we were opposed to subterfuge of any kind, since the purpose of the organization was to form Communists.

Twenty years have passed. How different things are now! Now we have a much higher level of education and political culture. Now we can say that our revolutionary process would have been inconceivable, the task and mission of our Party would have been inconceivable without the UJC. Although it is true that, as was said in the Report, no success or progress gives us the right to stop or rest, it is unquestionably correct to say that this organization has played, is playing now and will continue to play an extremely important role.

We have just witnessed the greetings of the Pioneers. Work with that organization is one of the important, one of the most important tasks of the UJC. The Pioneer organization is the first step, the first social institution to which our children belong. We can say that is where the formation of a Communist starts.

The importance of the Pioneers in our society and our process is shown by the fact that the organization now has two million child and adolescent members, and four million children and adolescents have passed through its ranks. Nearly all the young people in our country, all those now between the ages of 7 and 30, belong or have belonged to the Pioneer organization since it was founded 21 years ago. I am sure a great many of you have been Pioneers. So we already have a generation which started out by being Pioneers. That is why work with the Pioneers is so important, and everything we do for the Pioneers.

It may seem that we have done a lot. I think we have done some things, the Revolution has done some things for the Pioneers. A lot in some areas, in education for example: in constructing schools, in preparing programs, in all the investments that have been made in aiding the upbringing of children. For many years now nearly all the children of elementary school age have been in fact going to school. Important gains have been made in the health and education of children. But how many municipalities are still without even a small Pioneer Palace? — I don't mean a new building; last year we discussed the need to make use of existing buildings until we can build new ones — because it is our goal that every provincial capital and every municipality should have its Palace, but we must wait awhile, because we have to dedicate resources to things which are also very important, such as a pediatric hospital, an intensive care unit, things which we all realize would have priority, or many other things. However, we can adapt buildings so there can be a Pioneer Palace in every municipality. This is of great importance for the organization of the science clubs.

Recent experience has clearly shown how it is possible to create Pioneer scouting centers with only limited means. They are a brilliant initiative. We have also set up Pioneer camps, some of them quite good, such as the José Martí and Ismaelillo camps. The total capacity of these facilities, including camps, Pioneer Palaces and scouting centers, is about 600 000 children, 600 000 a year. That's something. But we must realize the importance of doing this, so that

everyone does as much as they can to continue laying the material foundations for the Pioneer organization.

The UJC has always been interested in the Pioneers and done a great deal for them. This is a vital task and no one can replace the UJC in it.

Then there is the work done by the UJC with the Federation of Students in Intermediate Education (FEEM) and the Federation of University Students (FEU), as well as the Pioneers. The results are evident, the results obtained in this field of cooperation with the other mass organizations, the Federation of Cuban Women, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, the unions and the peasant organizations. As the Report indicates, 91.7 percent of the children and adolescents between the ages of 6 and 16 regularly go to school. This figure is almost 100 percent in elementary school and slightly less in junior high. But what country in this hemisphere has such a rate for these age groups? The dropout rate is being reduced; more than 90 percent of all those in all kinds of education pass on from year to year, and this is a good figure, even if we bear in mind certain problems and shortcomings which were discussed here at the Congress. In any case the rate has been steadily climbing, but, as was said during the discussion, this increase must be qualitative as well as quantitative.

SEVERAL OF OUR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS SIMPLY COULD NOT BE PRODUCED WITHOUT THE WORK OF THE STUDENTS

The participation of students in productive work is almost universal. All students at junior and senior high schools in the countryside and 95 percent of those in urban areas, take part in productive work.

The effects of this activity can already be appreciated in our students and young people; the combination of study and work shows in their attitude. In fact, several of our agricultural products simply could not be produced without the work of the students; the citrus fruit projects and many root and other vegetables, plus tobacco, etc., would be practically unfeasible without the work of the students, without the hundreds of thousands of students who join in during harvest time. I think our country has surpassed all others in this field. I really think we can be proud of our educational theory. Many visitors to our country have expressed admiration for our schools where work and study is combined, those schools on the Isle of Youth where Cuban and some 10 000 foreign students are being taught.

The country made a big effort to build those schools and cope with the boom in children reaching the intermediate education stage. But where were we going to get the teachers for those students, whose number grew to more than a million in five years? How were we going to solve the problem, when at that time there were only 200 or 300 students in pedagogical schools? How could we solve it when so many of our elementary school teachers were still unqualified? How could we solve it without the help of the UJC? And thus it was at the 2nd Congress that the idea of the Manuel Ascunce Domenech Student-Teacher Detachment arose and a problem which had appeared insoluble was tackled with revolutionary determination by our young people. The Student-Teacher Detachment was, quite simply, their response to the problem.

In the initial years of the Revolution the youth and students of Cuba had accomplished the great feat of the Literacy Campaign, eradicating an evil that dated back several centuries; the Detachment repeated that feat on a higher level. In these ten years 51 000 students have joined the Detachment — which, by the way, is also celebrating its anniversary today, since it was set up at the 2nd Congress. (APPLAUSE) And, not only that, but — as was noted in the Report — a movement sprang up among the teachers, and many thousands of elementary-school teachers began studying to be teachers of higher levels and all previously nongraduate teachers obtained their diplomas. A degree

course in elementary-school education was also established. These are very significant gains, and our society and our Party must express their appreciation for the care and trouble taken by the UJC in this job and for the response of young people to the challenge.

If the 2nd Congress was the father of the Manuel Ascunce Detachment, it was also the grandfather of the Carlos J. Finlay Detachment. One thing led to another: other detachments were set up, other contingents; but there is one which is very important, if we are to strive as we are going to strive, to make our country a medical power. The original idea of a detachment gave rise to the idea of the Medical Sciences Detachment, which I feel has been a big step forward toward that end.

Once again our young people and our students have given the expected reply: 14 200 senior high school students said they were willing to join the first contingent. Of course having at our disposal 14 200 senior high school students who could decide to study medicine was another of the fruits of the huge educational revolution in which our young people have played such an important role. We had 14 200 candidates when there were times in the past when there were only a few hundred who could matriculate in medical courses. Now there are 14 200.

It was possible to make an excellent selection based on the academic records of students, but that wasn't the only criterion; the views of their fellow students were the most important credential. This teaches all young students that when they are interested in taking up a career they must have the right conduct and attitude in order to earn the endorsement of their comrades. Next in the selection process came an assessment of the real vocation of each student and after that their academic record, which was the means for selecting the 3807 who joined the Detachment this year.

IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE WAY IN WHICH THIS DETACHMENT HAS BEEN SET UP MIGHT POINT THE WAY TO THE IDEAL METHOD OF SELECTING UNIVERSITY STUDENTS FROM AMONG HIGH-SCHOOL GRADUATES

As you know, some workers also joined because this is one of the ways to a medical career open to those who are unable to enter on the basis of an academic record. They can become an intermediate health technician, work two years and then take a qualifying examination. There will be a quota of places reserved for such workers every year and another for those finishing military service, who did not have the requisite academic standards to qualify for university studies when they finished senior high school. But since the armed forces are themselves an excellent educational institution, we decided to reserve a number of university places, which is in fact growing, for graduates from military service. Right now there are more than 400 young men who have just finished their military service, lodged in a senior high school in the countryside, taking a course of study, and we are all impressed by their organization and discipline.

And these arrangements confirm that good grades are not basically due to some children being more intelligent than others but due to study habits, discipline, willpower and attentiveness throughout the school year. Given the discipline and interest displayed by these young men studying after their military service, I have great hopes that many of them will be able to join the Detachment, and I think they will make an important contribution. This also teaches us another lesson. It is possible that these ideas — because all ideas give rise to others and every idea is always the seed of new ideas — and the way in which this Detachment has been set up, might point the way to the ideal method of selecting university students from among high-school graduates.

Of course, only a small number of male students will go straight into university on the basis of their academic record, since we want senior high students to make a special effort in their studies, spurred on by the incentive of going straight into university if they have excellent grades.

The armed forces need intermediate technicians and senior high school graduates in their ranks. The days when people entered the armed forces with first, second or third grade are being left far behind. Modern technology can't be efficiently operated by young men with a first-, second- or third-grade education. In addition to courage, I believe training, knowledge, and level of education are becoming new and essential factors in the efficient handling of weapons. But it is logical that we should show special consideration towards those who have served their two, two and a half or three years in the armed forces. Which is why we feel a significant quota of places should be set aside for them; and one day this should be the major source of young men entering the university. I am talking about boys, about a given small number on the basis of academic grades and the rest coming from the military service.

I think this experience with those who want to study medicine after having served in the armed forces will lead us to consider the possibility of using this method for other careers as well. This would involve giving them refresher courses and then an exam as we will do now with those who want to study medicine. It is indeed possible. These young men can be a magnificent pool of graduates: high-school graduates and intermediate technicians who have done their military service. But there must be an exam. Otherwise after two or three years of not studying in a systematic manner they might be unable to cope with their studies. They would have more interest, more commitment, but not the academic foundation, and this would lead to an increased dropout rate. So we are closely following this experience with those young men who have come from military service and will be spending four months studying. In the future it will be at least six months. We will be watching their academic performance, interest, commitment and discipline. We want to see how they do in their career and what are the results of their present and future courses. We are sure the results will be good.

I was saying that six months would be better, because in that way they can spend two and a half years of a total of three years in the armed forces and the other six months on a refresher course preparing to enter the university if they want to do so.

But this should lead us to consider the most correct means to select those who enter the university. We must follow the principle that university students should be revolutionary, should be the most revolutionary. (APPLAUSE) We must fulfill the academic and moral conditions required of university students.

It would be good not to leave this up to the human computers. Computers can help out when it comes to making lists based on academic performance. If there are 100 places and 200 candidates who meet the required political and moral standards computers can tell us which are the best 100, but the analysis of those standards has to be made by students and the UJC; a machine can't evaluate, it can decide among those who have been evaluated, although there is a degree of evaluation in the current method.

I think the experience of the Medical Sciences Detachment is remarkable, because it was the students themselves in the classroom who did the evaluating in the first instance, and the analyses and further:

IT IS WITH GRATITUDE AND APPRECIATION THAT I RECALL HOW MANY TASKS, SEEMINGLY DIFFICULT TASKS, BECOME EASY WHEN THEY ARE PLACED IN THE HANDS OF THE UJC, THE FEEM AND THE FEU

How could we ever have done this without the help of the FEEM and the UJC? It is with gratitude and appreciation that I recall how many tasks, seemingly difficult tasks, become easy when they are placed in the hands of the UJC, the FEEM and the FEU. (APPLAUSE) It is with appreciation that I recall how, as soon as we talked with the UJC and the FEEM, they immediately tackled the task of setting up the Medical Sciences Detachment, and did an excellent job of it, with the cooperation, of course, of all the agencies of the Ministries of Education and Public Health.

I was also recalling those other hard times when it was necessary to set up the Student-Teacher Detachment, and what great efforts the UJC and the FEEM made, and how many FEEM and UJC cadres set the example by joining that Detachment. There's no task, there's no problem which, when it's brought to the attention of our Young Communist League and our mass and student organizations, is not promptly and efficiently solved. (APPLAUSE) That's why we don't hesitate to tackle difficult things or set high goals for ourselves.

Once we had the idea of the detachment worked out, we asked ourselves this question: what are we going to do with the current medical students, those who are going to be our doctors in six years or so? So the UJC and the FEU were given this assignment, to suggest what could be done, and that was how the Mario Muñoz movement, the Mario Muñoz Student Vanguard was born. Now I don't know whether this idea is the grandchild or the great-grandchild of the 2nd Congress of the UJC, since it was born right after the Medical Sciences Detachment. They immediately got to work on it, worked out ideas and implemented them, and practically 100 percent of the current body of medical students committed themselves to strive towards membership of the Mario Muñoz Vanguard. This has created a spirit of emulation among the current students which is very important. It has also helped us to unearth the causes of some of the difficulties we had, for instance with the textbooks in the medical schools. In addition, a big effort, a very serious effort has been made around this theme, including the revision of concepts, the revision of programs, and so on. That's how the Mario Muñoz Vanguard was set up.

I think this shows us the many other things, better things, we can still do in many fields where apparently there would be reasons to make us feel quite satisfied. That's why I've taken up some time on the subject, in the hope that the UJC will go on working and coming up with these ideas. And I think that if the country has reaped many rewards with the Student-Teacher Detachment, it will also reap extraordinary rewards with the Medical Sciences Detachment, and it can in this manner expect a lot in the future from the efforts the country is making and from the resources it is investing in our higher education centers. I am certain that to the extent the UJC will take on these ideas they can be pushed ahead and implemented. How could anyone possibly underestimate the importance of the work the UJC is doing among our students?

I THINK THAT IF WE ARE GOING TO BECOME A MEDICAL POWER, WE CAN ALSO BECOME A CULTURAL POWER

Another very important field where the UJC has carried out its work is in culture. This can be seen in some of the figures analyzed at the Congress and set forth in the Report. For instance, over half of all primary and intermediate students belong to amateur art groups. There are over 100,000 such groups among primary, intermediate and university students, totaling over a million. This opens up truly extraordinary prospects and is evidence of real promise in the cultural field. I wonder how many countries

have reached these levels yet, and how much more can we achieve ourselves. We know there are weaknesses and inefficiencies involved here, yet it represents an endeavor of considerable scope in favor of our people's cultural development.

The Hermanos Saiz Brigade, the Raúl Gómez García Brigade and the New Song Movement are doing a great job among youth in culture. Thousands of teenagers are being encouraged, stimulated and helped in the field of literature and art. They're being stimulated and helped, and this contributes notably to their education. I think all this is very important for the future development of our intellectuals and our culture and for the development of staunchly revolutionary intellectuals who are immune to the diversionist virus, immune to the ideological garbage of capitalist society. (APPLAUSE)

We hope to be able to count on magnificent revolutionary intellectual workers. And when I say intellectual workers I don't mean exclusively the writers, artists and painters. No, I mean all intellectual workers, I mean the engineers, the doctors, the architects, the professors, the teachers. We are aspiring to a first-class force of revolutionary intellectuals.

That's why we all value so highly the effort being made by the UJC with the university students and the intellectuals. We place an extraordinarily high value on the work it is doing in the field of culture. And I think that if we are going to become a medical power, we can also become a cultural power. (APPLAUSE) We can thus become a power in many things as time goes on. It depends on the methods we apply, the concern we show; it also depends on our applying the principle I mentioned 20 years ago about merit; so that in our country the merit of human beings, their human condition, their condition as intellectuals and revolutionaries, will prevail above all else. That principle was followed, for instance, with the formation of the Carlos J. Finlay Detachment. There was not a single violation of the rules, of the principles which were applied in selection. Not a single student included at random, no one included because he or she was related to somebody, no kin to anybody arbitrarily included, there wasn't a single exception! (APPLAUSE)

Of course, there were some sad cases: students with an ardent vocation, who'd longed for this career for many years; we know of some cases who fell below on points by mere fractions, particularly of some girls, because girls usually get better marks than boys, but had we chosen strictly according to points, then we would have ended up with 67 percent women and 33 percent men. And I thought to myself, the way things are going, quite apart from other difficulties, it's going to turn out that the girls won't even have a sweetheart. (LAUGHTER) 33 percent, against 67. And although I was reluctant to suggest it, I admit that I like the idea of medical students marrying each other; but not at an early age, rather when they go out to fulfill their internationalist assignments. (APPLAUSE) That's why it became necessary to set up a quota in the Detachment, a quota of at least 45 percent men to 55 percent women. Now there's a chance left for any of those traumatic cases. A girl, for instance, can become an intermediate technician in public health and then after two years of work be admitted into the Detachment after taking the exam. They have this chance, and the men have a chance by way of military service. It may happen that they are scheduled to study another career instead of medicine, but if they are keen on medicine, then they can be inducted into the services and later they have an opportunity to study medicine. So these are the alternatives some of these traumatic cases have — but the selection is always on the basis of merit, exclusively on merit, and the will and determination of the students.

MARXISM-LENINISM MUST KEEP EVOLVING IN A REVOLUTIONARY SENSE EVERY DAY IN ACTUAL PRACTICE

I believe in the rational application of these principles, which are genuine Marxist-Leninist principles, for Marxism-

We must give this a lot of thought, since here we are in the very jaws of imperialism, jaws that perennially open like the mouth of a tiger, fangs and all, or the maw of a shark. And now it's coming up to 23 years, soon we'll have spent over 23 years making a Revolution in the mouth of the monster, (APPLAUSE) and the monster tries, and keeps on trying, to make trouble for us, to make it difficult for us, to push its blockade to extremes, and so on. How long will he keep it up? Nobody knows. But we hope we can resist the monster, regardless of his twists and turns, even if he tries to swallow us up — we'll see to it that he gets awful indigestion! (APPLAUSE) And it will be just the same if the monster succeeds in raising more difficulties for us in the economic field, whatever they are, it doesn't make any difference. We are determined to go on confronting the monster and to win any battle in any field, to overcome any difficulty, any imaginable difficulty, even if the monster were to impose a total naval blockade on us, to give an example, or any other such misdeed. We are certain that our resistance will have all of you in the vanguard, together with all our youth. (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "FIDEL, AT ANY TIME, IN ANY PLACE, COMMANDER IN CHIEF, WE AWAIT YOUR ORDERS!")

The UIC is also working hard in the field of recreation for young people. We can't really say a great deal of progress has been made but there are at present 19 centers and 6000 clubs for youths. This we think is a very good idea that should be developed and deserves support. The idea of people's camping seems to me really revolutionary, given this country's natural resources. Are we going to wait to have a skyscraper next to every mountain before going there on vacation when young people can go there on vacation and have a good time in contact with nature? It all depends on the way you look at it, because when you think about it a skyscraper is probably the worst possible place to spend a vacation. We have great natural resources and beauty. We don't have the means to build facilities of this sort when there are still scores of unsolved problems, when the urgent and pressing problem of housing is still unsolved for many families. We can't expect a hotel in Varadero or at another beach or beside a reservoir, and why should we. When at very little expense we can create adequate conditions for rest and vacations, for contact with nature. That was the thinking behind this camping program. It started to grow, and it would have grown much more had it not been for the [dengue] epidemic. The numbers of campers reached 60 000, and this was only on weekends, because everything had to be halted during the epidemic at the best time, in July and August, when facilities would have been

Our living people
even more in life
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country and for the defense of our Revolution are young people. And the youth organizations are very strong in both the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Ministry of the Interior. Committees and branches of the UJC are playing a fundamental, indispensable role in those institutions as well as in the political and ideological education of young people before and after they join the armed forces. In that work we have an activity of vital importance to our people, to our society, in which Young Communists are also making an exceptional contribution. This can be seen here in the Congress, in the large number of young members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Ministry of the Interior who took part.

Is the work of the UJC limited to the tasks I have just mentioned? No, of course not. There is also something equally fundamental and of vital importance, and that is production and services.

Today, according to statistics, one-third of our labor force is composed of young people. And it's in this field that our youth can offer the most universal of its contributions and where it has a growing participation. It wasn't by accident that Comrade Veiga spoke so enthusiastically about what the UJC means to the trade unions, and Comrades Armando Acosta and Pepe Ramirez agreed with him; and so, I suppose, did Comrade Vilma, who spoke today. They all drew attention to the role played by the UJC in their respective organizations.

The labor movement spoke very highly of the large number of trade union cadres who are Young Communists. And that is one field in which the UJC can do an extraordinary job.

There have been a number of new initiatives in the past few years. Take the shock tasks, for example. They are something that is of relatively recent origin, but they're making progress and becoming promising. Mention of them was made at the Congress. Thousands upon thousands of young people belong to this task force movement, and I understand that the tasks they have accomplished already run to 24 and are the most fundamental and also the most difficult ones. I remember the contribution made by the young people in the construction of the cement plants in Artemisa and Cienfuegos. I talked with them on more than one occasion and I learned that there were brigades of young people that worked as many as 14 and sometimes 15 hours at a stretch, that after they had finished their normal work shift they pledged to carry out certain other tasks. There was not a simple job, an easy job. They tackled serious goals calling for great efforts day and night, at all hours, and I remember how much they contributed to the construction of those plants. Now, needless to say, our construction agencies all want the UJC to declare such and such a project a shock task, because they know what that means.

Another new initiative, called Youth Economic Initiatives, has been brought up at this Congress. The contribution it will make to the country's economy is estimated at 64 million pesos. And the motion to keep the movement going was made at the Congress. In fact, as you all recall, the young people of Santiago de Cuba pledged to raise 30 million pesos on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada — what's become known as the "30 for 30" initiative. (APPLAUSE) It looked like one million per year, and yet they sounded very sure of themselves. And now that it seems that they've won a whole series of trophies, (EXCLAMATIONS) we have no right to doubt that they will achieve their purpose. (APPLAUSE) That's what I call a significant contribution to production.

THE YOUTH TECHNICAL BRIGADES: A MOST VALUABLE INITIATIVE WITH A GLOWING FUTURE

To this we may add another initiative, which I consider very, very important. It's been developing for several years and it has an excellent future: the Youth Technical Brigades.

I have visited their various exhibits and I am aware of the value of their contribution and of their innovations. I know that the movement already has 178 000 members and I hope it will go on growing. They had set an age limit of 30, and it happened that just when the members were becoming more proficient... Well, something like this

happened with the Pioneers: just as they were beginning to handle their musical instruments with greater skill and master their other activities, they were absorbed into the FEEM. At the last Congress a motion was passed to extend their membership to the 9th grade which was the correct thing to do.

That's what was happening in the Youth Technical Brigades. Once members reached the age of 30 they were out, they ceased being members just as they were ready to do their best work. We took up the matter with the CTC [Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions] and they were completely in accord with us. They have their own movement but there's no clash, no contradiction whatever between a worker who is a member of a Youth Technical Brigade and an innovator of the CTC. And so in order to give the movement greater possibilities and reap the fruits of the efforts made by these young people a little longer, it was decided to extend the age limit to 35. And you can imagine the results, with more and more graduates coming out of the technological schools. Suffice it to recall, as it has been at this Congress, that between the 2nd and the 4th Congresses the number of students in the technological schools increased sixfold and the number of university students has multiplied — unless I'm mistaken — 3.7 times. Naturally, many of those who enroll now have a higher level of skill and are qualified to join the Technical Brigades. It would come as no surprise to me if sometime in the future as many as 300 000 youngsters were included in this movement. This is only an aspiration, not a goal; a goal is when an aspiration becomes an objective. In this case it's an aspiration that hasn't yet become a goal. Some said it would happen by 1985, and others in 1987, but, whenever it is, I do believe that if this movement is looked after the way it should be and is given the right boost it has a very good outlook. Nobody knows the potential of this movement and how much it could help the country in a difficult situation, let's say in a situation of total blockade, with all those brains coming up with innovations and finding solutions to the problems.

This kind of thing has been demonstrated in other countries. When one learns what the Soviet people did, for example, in World War II, how they succeeded in moving whole factories within months — practically within weeks — to the deep rear guard and putting them in operation at the height of the war; when we realize how they rebuilt their country and the time it took them to do it, when the imperialists thought it would take them ten years to build a single factory, given the conditions the country was left in, and they did it in one year, a year and a half or two years; when you see feats like these you realize that when you can count on a nation of educated, skilled, well-trained people with a high level of technical ability, there's no miracle that socialism cannot accomplish when decisive moments arrive. I say this because I believe that the feat of moving the factories in the midst of the war has no precedent and that the industriousness with which the Soviet people rebuilt their economy after the war has never been equaled. But then they had people, socialist people, who had the required skill and technical level.

I remember the first years of our Revolution, all the things that our skilled workers, that all our workers did when the economic blockade was imposed on us, when there wasn't a single spare part available for many of our machines. I remember how they managed to keep our textile plants and other plants running for years without getting a single new spare part. With the technical knowledge our young people now have, with their educational level and their Technical Brigades, I can well imagine what they could do now in a difficult situation. However, we mustn't think only of special circumstances, but rather of how much they can help the economy in normal circumstances. And we must acknowledge that the Youth Technical Brigades are a genuine creation of the Young Communist League of Cuba: (APPLAUSE)

Our Young Communists are struggling to eradicate extravagance, wastefulness and lack of efficiency and to increase production and productivity. We are aware of the important achievements of the young cane cutters, the young members of the Army of Working Youth, the machine operators and the cane harvester operators. We are aware

of the efforts they made last year to eradicate sugarcane smut when over 30 000 hectares of land were planted to sugarcane; we are aware of our young people's efforts in construction and other sectors. In other words, our young people and our Young Communists are making an ever greater contribution to production and services. And that is something of vital importance to our country.

THE UJC'S PART IN DEVELOPING A COMMUNIST CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG OUR YOUNG PEOPLE: THE MOST IMPORTANT TASK OF ALL

Can we imagine a more important task? Well, we could say that there is one more important than all the others, and that is the organization's work in developing a revolutionary consciousness among our young people. (APPLAUSE) And that is something vital, absolutely vital, of decisive importance. Nobody can improve on the Young Communist League in this respect because it looks after the young generation practically from pre-school age to the time they are of age to join the Party. To a great extent, the Party will benefit from what the UJC accomplishes. The organization plays a vital, decisive role in developing our young people's attitudes toward study and all their other duties, be it in school, in a military unit, in a factory, in a services unit, as teachers, as doctors, as nurses or intermediate-level hospital technicians. And it is there, in practice, in the everyday struggle, where a really communist consciousness is developed.

New changes can be seen, and we can now really speak of a new attitude, an attitude that is the fruit of these years of work, of the work of our socialist institutions, of our schools of study and work, of our Pioneer organization, of our revolutionary teachers, of our revolutionary schools, of our mass and young people's organizations and of the Young Communist League. Yes, it can really be seen.

The organization's concern to develop young people's consciousness is particularly evident in the unflagging interest it has taken in promoting voluntary work. And that, too, is of vital importance. It is of vital importance because the realities of the construction of socialism oblige us to adopt certain formulas and methods that are not communist, but rather socialist — and you are well aware of the difference between socialism and communism. There are two formulas: "to each according to his work" and "to each according to his needs." In socialism, every individual is supposed to contribute according to his capacity, and he receives according to his work. In communism, everyone contributes according to his capacity and receives according to his needs.

There were some idealistic moments when we did want to make shortcuts. We had the chance to see the consequences and we were honest enough to recognize our mistakes and rectify them. There's no question about that. And there's no question either that the communist formula is superior to the socialist. Nor is there any question, either, that the dream of Marx, Engels and Lenin was the communist society. Marx himself said that in socialism distribution was still within the narrow confines of bourgeois law.

Clearly, if, for example, there are two longshoremen and one of them can carry more sacks than the other, let's say the second one can carry only half as many as the first, the poor fellow will receive half of what the other one received. But it isn't his fault that he's not the kind of man who can carry 200 sacks instead of 100 and, for all we know, his needs may be the same as the other's or maybe even greater. Thus, the socialist kind of distribution is not fair or at least not wholly fair. And we hope that some day the communist society will rectify this injustice.

Linking wages to work norms is naturally a socialist formula. A worker with more ability and more strength — and often the one with strongest determination — can earn more, of course. But there's always an element of imbalance somewhere. Some men have more aptitude for a particular thing, more skill, more strength, more endurance than others.

We have to resort to material incentives, because it's a strategy inherent in the transition from capitalism to communism; in other words, a need imposed by the socialist

stage. I'll never forget how concerned Che was about all these things, his great vocation and dedication and his exemplary attitude in voluntary work. He'd operate a harvester, cut sugarcane, lay bricks or push a hand truck along the docks, because he practiced what he preached and he was always deeply concerned about these questions.

Nevertheless, we've had to adopt a number of specific measures imposed by necessity, by reality. These measures help in many ways, they develop the economy and the development of the economy makes for greater resources, which, in turn, makes for greater possibilities for the development of society and of society's wealth. If there's no wealth there'll be very few things to distribute. That is a reality, and in rectifying its idealistic mistakes the Revolution had the courage to adopt the pertinent measures. But contradictions do arise. And we must guard against socialist formulas eroding communist consciousness; we must prevent socialist formulas from diverting us from our lofty objectives, our aspirations, our communist dreams. We must prevent ideological indolence and misunderstanding of these truths from diverting us from our goal of developing the communist human being. If someone works harder so as to earn more, that's a positive attitude and, in a certain sense, it helps and makes for greater production, but it is not a communist attitude. If one works more because one will receive a material incentive, one may be useful and may help to increase production and wealth and contribute to development, but that is not a communist attitude.

Reality imposes its rules and its formulas on society, and it's up to the Party and the UJC to develop consciousness. And, I can assure you that being a Communist will never depend on there being vast wealth to distribute, wealth so vast that there's enough to spare — and I can't imagine such a thing as wealth to spare on a world where the population is multiplying like guinea pigs and the natural resources are finite. No, no one can expect communist consciousness to be based on abundant wealth.

The way I see it, in the development of the communist society wealth and the material base must grow hand in hand with conscience, because it can also happen that as wealth increases conscience diminishes. It is important for young people to give thought to this matter, I'm sure they've already done so and I'm also sure they have wondered about it — for I myself have thought about this and wondered about it often — and I'm convinced that it is not only wealth nor the development of the material base or anything of the kind that is going to contribute to the development of a communist consciousness. Far from it. There are some countries which are much richer than ours. I shan't make comparisons of any kind, that wouldn't be correct, but we do know of revolutionary countries where conscience was overtaken by wealth, and that cost us counterrevolutions and things like that. But there may be a great deal of conscience without riches.

It's not correct for us to waste ourselves, or rather our country, as an example. But I am convinced that in spite of our limited wealth and relatively limited material development, our country has been witness to a vast development of consciousness and that an example of this is found in our people's internationalist spirit. It is very important to understand all these things, because if we don't understand them we won't be able to move forward.

An internationalist consciousness means a complete break with chauvinism, it means combating national egoism, because there isn't an iota of Marxism, Leninism or communism in national egoism.

There have been times when we had to build a road in another country when we were in need of roads in ours, or we built an airport when we ourselves were short of airports. For example, neither Congo or Angola nor Sancti Spiritus has an airport and yet we have helped to build airports in other countries. Yes, we do make efforts to help other countries and there may be some who wonder why we help others when we are still short of many things. Such an attitude is not a revolutionary attitude but rather one of national egoism.

First of all, internationalism means that we are all brothers, and it implies doing without many things in order to help others who are more in need than we are. We are poorer than us. Of course, we are not as poor as they are.

sharing what it has with others, and we, who are an underdeveloped country, share with others some of what we have. I believe that that is a demonstration of internationalist conscience. And I also believe that when internationalist conscience and cooperation cease to exist in the world, the future of the world will be really disastrous.

On other occasions I have spoken of situations affecting the underdeveloped world; for example when I spoke at the founding of the Medical Sciences Detachment. Let us think, for instance, of the situation in Ethiopia, a country with 35 million inhabitants and 125 doctors. I believe it had less doctors than the Isle of Youth. I don't know the exact number of doctors in that municipality, but I do know that many municipalities in our country have more than 125 doctors. So there were fewer doctors in Ethiopia, a country with 35 million inhabitants, than in some of Cuba's municipalities. If we are incapable of asking our doctors to make an extra effort so we can send ten doctors from a province in Cuba to Ethiopia, or of asking a province to send 20 doctors and another province to send a few others when we know that any province of ours has more, infinitely more doctors than Ethiopia: if we can't ask them to make that extra effort to help us comply with such an elementary duty, then we're really in a bad way.

And yes, we do have needs. Sometimes we do things elsewhere that we could do here, but things that are no longer essential for us. When a relatively small country has built 20 000 kilometers of roads and highways, it's no trouble to us to put aside building an additional 300 kilometers because we're building 200 or 300 kilometers of roads in another country with few or no highways. All these things are relative, and to make some material contribution along with some contributions in terms of expertise does not represent any considerable sacrifice, but does constitute a great example in a world plagued by egoism.

Not all of what our country does abroad takes the form of donations. We donate to the poorer countries, and those which have greater economic resources than we do pay us for our services. Therefore, work done outside our country is also a source of revenue.

A firm internationalist conscience is something we cannot do without.

At times, for instance, there are all sorts of rumors and comments, such as when a building in the vicinity of the Capitol collapsed, for several reasons. A thorough investigation was carried out and it was found out that several factors, aside from the age of the building, had to do with the tragic collapse: additions to the apartments, done clandestinely, excess weight caused by too much furniture in the upper floors, etc. And there were some who wanted to know how come we exported cement when our buildings were collapsing. Such an analysis couldn't be more simplistic. It also reveals a total lack of understanding of the reasons why our country exports cement, and that it is because, unfortunately, it has no other alternative but to export it. It would be wonderful if we could dedicate all the cement we produce to construction work here, but we have to export it because our country must also import many things, everything, beginning with medicines. It has to import raw material in order to produce poultry, hogs, milk, everything. It must import many things and in order to import one must also export. It goes without saying that it would be much better for us to dedicate all our cement to construction work. But the problem is that construction doesn't depend on just cement. It calls for steel, lumber, glass, piping, wiring, dozens of other things that must also be bought. And what often hampers construction is not a lack of cement but rather a lack of lumber and other materials that, unfortunately, we cannot purchase abroad because we don't have the resources to pay for them.

In a case like this there are two different attitudes that can be taken. Really, that attitude I mentioned demonstrates not so much a lack of internationalist spirit as simple ignorance. And at other times it's more a lack of internationalist spirit.

BEING AN INTERNATIONALIST MEANS GIVING PART OF WHAT YOU HAVE AND BEING WILLING TO GIVE IT

Well, since an internationalist spirit is to be defended as a principle, I'm convinced that being an internationalist means giving part of what you have and being willing to give it. You must be willing and prepared to give something up in order to do it. Naturally, we would prefer to have even more doctors than we have now, working in the hospitals, making sure that they have their rest period following guard duty, and so on, but part of our medical force is engaged in internationalist missions. Still, we haven't remained idle; all the time we are training legions of new, good doctors.

I said that the principles of internationalism is to be defended for its own sake. Now, let's take a look at the other side of the coin: what would have become of our Revolution and our country without internationalism? (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "BEING INTERNATIONALIST MEANS SETTLING OUR DEBT WITH HUMANITY!") How much have we done for others, compared to what others have done for us in so many fields? Hence, the reason for that watchword, to settle our debt with humanity. Beginning with the arms with which we have defended ourselves: how much do you think they're worth? How much is the economic cooperation that is being given us worth? I don't much like to use this kind of argument because it's not a communist argument. It may be logical, dialectical, but it isn't communist. It does serve, however, to make noninternationalists understand the question a little better; but it's no argument for internationalists. The argument for internationalists goes like this: help others even if nobody helps us. (APPLAUSE) It's simply a moral duty, a revolutionary duty, a matter of principle, of conscience, even an ideological duty. To contribute to humanity even if humanity has done nothing for us. That's what internationalism means! And we must go on developing this internationalist consciousness which has made great progress in our country. I believe there are many examples of it here.

I said that it wasn't wealth alone that created a communist consciousness. Consciousness must be developed by the Party, the Young Communist League and the Revolution itself. And I also said that our modest country had developed a good deal of internationalist consciousness. We're still egoists; we haven't reached the non plus ultra of internationalist consciousness but there's much more egoism in the rest of the world than in us, for I believe that our internationalist consciousness is continuing to develop. I can give you examples of this. When the call for teachers for Nicaragua was issued I believe that a total of 29 500 teachers answered it, and that was a very difficult job, teaching in the most difficult conditions. And yesterday, when the comrade delegate presented me with an album representing 20-odd albums filled with the signatures of the 92 000 teachers ready to take the place of Francisco de la Concepción, Pedro Pablo Rivera, Bárbaro Rodríguez and Aguedo Morales, who were assassinated while carrying out their duty as teachers in Nicaragua, how would you describe that? (APPLAUSE) Isn't that a demonstration of internationalist consciousness? Could anyone doubt it? I for one, have no doubt that those 92 000 teachers are willing and ready to fulfill their pledge. And what a wonderful thing it is to be able to say that after 20-odd years of existence our Revolution has 92 000 teachers willing and ready to carry out an internationalist mission in conditions of proven risk! (APPLAUSE) What a truly extraordinary, admirable, practically incredible thing! And why? Before the Revolution, how many teachers were there in Cuba who could offer to go to Nicaragua to teach in the conditions that exist in Nicaragua? Why, we didn't even have enough to send to Güines, which is practically on the outskirts of Havana. We didn't have enough to send to Baracoa, or Guantánamo, or anywhere in the rural areas. We simply didn't have enough teachers. What Latin American country with a population much larger than ours has 92 000 teachers ready to carry out such a mission?

How did this spirit grow? Was it by accident, perhaps? No. It was the Revolution that created this spirit, it was the Party, it was the Young Communist League. Needless to say, wealth had nothing to do with it. It was the result of political work, of ideological work, of revolutionary work, of example. It wasn't necessary to be richer than the United States to have an internationalist consciousness.

ness. A communist consciousness, an internationalist consciousness must be developed; as someone said here — I believe it was Landy [Luis Orlando Domínguez], paraphrasing Che — internationalism is the highest rung of communist consciousness. Che said "the highest rung of the human species." Landy said "the highest rung of communist consciousness." And this is the truth, because every internationalist is a full-fledged communist. Only a communist can be an internationalist. In fact, we could say that it's impossible to be a communist without being an internationalist. This will give you an idea of how important these questions are in the development of consciousness, of their importance in the development of voluntary work among the youth, bequeathed us as a priceless treasure. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

This is the spirit that has prevailed in your voluntary work and especially in your economic initiatives. We urge our young people and our workers in general — but most of all our young workers — to keep this spirit alive.

MENTION WAS MADE AT THIS CONGRESS OF THE LUST FOR GAIN, AND I THINK IT WAS AN IMPORTANT THING TO DO

Mention was made at this Congress of the lust for gain, and I think it was an important thing to do. I mean lust for gain on the part of some professionals, and certain highly telling examples were given, like the case of an engineer, an architect, or whatever, trained by the Revolution, privately practicing his profession and charging exorbitant fees to workers for drawing up simple plans for home repairs. I myself have seen some of these ads in *Opina* magazine. *Opina* is highly illustrative of many flaws and many irregularities. Just try to advertise certain things and you'll see. Once I happened to be in an office by chance when the phone rang and someone asked about a car supposedly being sold there, I think it was a 1958 Chevrolet. What happened was that the paper had put a wrong number in an advertisement, that of the office I was in, and all sorts of lumpen people began calling in. Well, to tell the truth, even decent people were ringing up the number. I'm not going to deny that. One person asked, "How much?" "Ten thousand pesos." "Why, man, I thought it would be worth \$400." Then he said, "No, I can't, there's no way I can." Another was asked, "Have you got the ten thousand pesos?" "Yes, I do, I have them." "You got the ten thousand pesos?" "Yes." "Well! where do you work?" One of them worked in a spare parts distributing center, another in a deluxe restaurant. It was very interesting, it wasn't explained where they got the ten thousand pesos from. It was a real mystery.

Well, then, this was simply one anecdote. Another ad in *Opina* — and I'm not criticizing *Opina* — said: "Home plans drawn up." A citizen comes to the city hall and is asked to present a plan for his house repairs. An urbanization office or what have you, asks for a little plan. The man charges 800, 900, 1000 pesos for drawing up a little plan. For this was exactly what was brought up here, with all the reason in the world. That's robbery being committed by a technician trained by the Revolution, who possibly even works in some enterprise or agency here. I think that's a prostitution of the whole concept of self-employment. (APPLAUSE)

Prostitutions of this sort have occurred in connection with various initiatives, various measures adopted to meet this or that need, or owing to an effort made to improve services, or to release manpower needed elsewhere — moves that have immediately been seized upon by poor-spirited and selfish individuals to devalue the original idea; and many things have been devalued here, thanks to the collaboration of many people — because in order for such devaluation to take place many administrators have behaved irresponsibly by conniving, by violating the rules on certain

contracts, tiny groups of workers who, for instance, earned a few thousand pesos by doing, in their supposedly extra and free time, what they were supposed to do during their regular work schedule. It's repugnant to find out about such cases. Earning thousands of pesos in a few days. Any administrator willing to contract for a group of technicians, a group of qualified workers, anybody, earning thousands of pesos is simply a corruptor of others and is himself corrupted. (APPLAUSE)

We even had these cases involving Party members. What are things coming to? On the one hand struggling for higher consciousness and on the other destroying it. And then some would say, "Well, if you go to the Plaza" — and even the small plaza was mentioned, too — "they charge you 50 pesos for a pair of sandals." (LAUGHTER) which is true.

But there's a sort of chain of events here. For if good ideas foster other good ideas, bad things can foster, on the other hand, other bad things. It's clear that every technician here who gets a job from the state, who has the chance of using his skills properly, should not be entitled to do such things. That's not a socialist formula for solving the problems. A socialist formula would be to have People's Power or someone else set up bureaus, or groups or offices of architects, for example, so that they can help a worker who needs to repair his home; because now in addition to paying the cost of materials and paying everything else, he is asked to produce a small plan — and it's logical that he should need a small plan so that no clandestine construction can be done that later results in the buildings' collapsing. The state should provide a socialist service under which that architect would earn the same as an architect in Moa or in Santiago de Cuba, or an architect who is building a school in the countryside or fulfilling an internationalist mission, not ten times more. (APPLAUSE)

We must search for socialist formulas rather than capitalist formulas to solve problems, because before we even realize it they corrupt us, contaminate us, just as Landy said in yesterday's session concerning the *Opina* that contaminate us and contaminate our consciousness. Virtue must be nourished but vice springs up spontaneously like weeds and grows by itself. We must bear that in mind. If we do otherwise, while nourishing virtue we are simultaneously paving the way for vice. We must use socialist formulas rather than capitalist formulas in all these matters. That's a reality and we mustn't lose sight of it.

I think no one will be granted permission to carry out these activities any more. Let those who graduated before the Revolution live according to the way they were trained. They haven't particularly incurred any debt. But the standards for those who graduated under the Revolution ought to be different. Our doctors gave up private practice a long, long time ago. And we have a lot of prestigious doctors who could be earning ten thousand pesos in a capitalist country anywhere and yet here they are, earning a modest socialist salary working for our people. These are good examples. (APPLAUSE) And I think that was in part what Tony [Pérez Herrero] meant when he spoke yesterday on ideological questions, on the need to strengthen our youth so that bourgeois ideology could exert no influence on them.

Because, of course, it goes without saying that under capitalism a prominent person like that earns tons of money. That's why a revolutionary consciousness, a communist consciousness, an internationalist consciousness is so necessary, if one is to work for one's own people for less money, under more modest conditions, under harder conditions. That's the sort of technician, that's the sort of revolutionary, that's the sort of Communist we want to train. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

WE HAVE SOMETHING MORE POWERFUL THAN MONEY AND THAT IS CONSCIENCE

We don't compete with Yankee imperialism in the matter of money, with the capitalists who have piled up huge wealth exploiting peoples and exploiting workers. They make off with the most talented people everywhere to achieve technological development and technologies of which the underdeveloped countries are deprived. Yes, they have money. But we have something more powerful than money and that is conscience. (APPLAUSE) That's why the Communist is more powerful than the capitalist, because a Communist isn't for sale, a Communist has a conscience while a capitalist has money, nothing but money, he has no country. His country is where he can make the most money. Capitalism by nature has no country, it goes where it can earn more. The Communist is basically an internationalist, but also a patriot. He fulfills his internationalist duty wherever necessary, and he fulfills his communist duty towards his own people. That is the kind of person we want to form. The young people must undertake this mission, they have an opportunity to form people like that with that kind of conscience.

That is why what was said about the lust for gain was quite right. And it should not be limited merely to professionals, because another initiative around which speculation and profiteering developed was the farmers' markets, you know? It was a capitalist formula because that is a capitalist formula, one that takes into account the fact that there are still many small private farmers, the fact that there had been some under-the-table dealings, and in order to develop production of some things which the state, the big specialized agricultural firms, do not usually produce, or to put more things onto the market, such as the things that were being sold under the table or used for individual consumption, or to get the farmers to work a little harder, such markets were authorized. Well then, right away a host of middlemen popped up, who didn't produce anything and would buy up and hoard products that in many cases should have been sold to the state for normal distribution. There was one individual who had 50,000 bananas, imagine, 50,000 bananas stored away, and in the warehouse of a Party member. Corrupting our Party members, 50,000 bananas from Holguín. How much money would he make selling at 80 centavos in just a few days? Those are the kind that want to buy everything, even the Karl Marx Theater. (LAUGHTER) and if they can't buy the theater then they try to buy the administrator.

So we had a free farmers market. It was a concession we made, to cope with particular problems. We will have to tackle all this in discussions with the farmers to see what measures can be taken. In one year they earned 200 million pesos and paid only 40,000 in taxes. I think that year's taxes should have been at least 100 million, and since they sell at high prices and earn more than they would by selling to the state, and sometimes things which should have gone to the state end up on the free market, it would be good if some money could go for hospitals, schools, the Pioneers, vacation programs and things like that. (APPLAUSE) There are many fine things that can be done with that money they earned, with at least half of it, half for the people, for these same people who are shelling out their money. It should benefit the people in the form of a vacation program, camping, a Pioneer Palace, many fine things. I repeat, could be done with that money, much better than making a few people rich and bourgeois, much better than making people corruptors.

We will allow the free market to continue with strict respect for established regulations, but there will have to be significant taxes. It is ironic that this individual can buy eggs at 6 or 7 centavos, well, now it is 9 or 10, for if eggs were not being produced on a large scale by workers on state farms he would be unable to purchase them at such

a low price. On its farms the state turns out millions of eggs so everybody can have them. The state also produces almost all the milk the children of this country drink, the milk the families, the ill and the elderly drink, all the chicken allocated to hospitals, schools, stores and restaurants is produced by the state. Of course, we haven't got big resources, otherwise we could produce twice the current figure, that's easy, we know by heart how this is done. We also know how many millions of dollars we would have to spend for soya, corn and other products, products we don't have. Producing food in an efficient manner is easy, we really do it efficiently. We don't have the raw materials, otherwise it would just be a case of building farms, which we know how to do; we are one of the countries which is most efficient in chicken and egg production as a result of the genetic methods and technique developed by the Revolution. We can produce chicken and pork very efficiently, we know what is needed; the drawbacks are the raw materials. Food leftovers are used in large quantities to feed pigs. But in spite of all that the state takes what it produces and distributes the milk, eggs, beef, chicken or pork to the hospitals, schools and families.

Here it is not the same as in other socialist countries where the imperialists say small private farmers produce so much of the milk, meat or eggs; the situation here is very different. Here 100 percent of the milk comes from state farms and it is distributed to the people. Practically all. And it's the same with eggs, chicken and pork, nearly all the meat which is distributed to the population and produced efficiently. We don't produce more because we haven't the means. At present we can't produce turkeys to be able to distribute turkeys all over the country, a turkey a week, or what have you, who knows how many would be needed?

So what happens is that somebody sells a turkey at the market for 100 pesos. He has modest quantities of things which the state does not produce on a large scale, not for lack of efficiency but because it lacks the means, because everything it has goes into the production of key food-stuffs which are distributed to the people at low prices and in many cases subsidized. Now that individual who's selling the turkey pays the same low price for medicine as everybody else, he pays 25 centavos for a liter of milk and nothing at all for hospital care. He takes a bus for 5 centavos although with the money he has he can take a taxi, and yet he tries to bribe taxi drivers and all, because you can imagine, with all that money. He gets everything at low prices or free and when he sells a worker a chicken he charges 15 pesos, or 80 centavos for bananas because there were no bananas of that kind or a hurricane hit Havana and the bananas were brought in from Cienfuegos or Holguín. Or he sells garlic at a peso a head because we're short of garlic, and things like that.

Of course he doesn't sell eggs for 20 centavos because the state sells all the eggs anybody could want for much less. Who knows how much longer some basic products will have to be rationed, we're trying to do away with rationing as much as possible because rationing is a real nuisance, but we'd be in a fine state if we were to distribute meat on a price basis, because this new bourgeoisie would buy it all up and the worker would go without. If we were to do as is done in some parts of Europe and put meat on the free market at 10 pesos a pound there would be more than enough meat. But such a policy with an essential item would be wrong, and we are seeking socially just distribution. Capitalists solve everything on a price basis, but socialists don't. So when there isn't enough of something there is speculation. Well then, it's right that the free market should be authorized for certain reasons, in pursuit of certain goals.

But I can't conceive of a real Young Communist, not a professional, a Young Communist, selling chicken at 15 pesos or garlic at a peso and bananas at 80 centavos on the free market. Speculating and bringing bananas from hundreds of kilometers away, imagine! I wonder how many people he bribed along the way to get them here and have a ware-

house of bananas. No, the free farmers market is undoubtedly a capitalist method of solving problems.

IF THERE IS GOING TO BE A FREE MARKET, IT SHOULD BE A REAL FREE MARKET OPERATING UNDER CONTROL AND RUN ALONG DIFFERENT LINES, A MARKET IN WHICH THE REAL BENEFICIARY WILL BE THE PEOPLE

Well, I hope these problems won't last forever. I hope that this situation will come to an end, with the development of socialist agriculture and of the cooperative farms and the disappearance of this speculative and nonproductive minifundist farming. And if there is going to be a free market, it should be a real free market operating under control and run along different lines, a market in which the real beneficiary will be the people, even though the farmers may also make a little more money from it. I believe that the development of the cooperatives, which is so necessary, will help us to increase production. And in case of a surplus, even a single leaf of coriander — a spice that is not found in any market — there must be a way to sell that too. And that goes for a turkey too. But it has to be done along different lines. For the time being we'll have to put up with the present situation, and I believe that the best solution is to levy higher taxes to get back a substantial part of the profits, so that when a person buys something he or she can always say, "I'm contributing to the construction of a new school and not just lining the pockets of this crook who's charging too much for his wares."

That's the way things stand. Let's speak frankly. I believe it's much better to speak frankly and let everybody know that we know what's going on and that we don't like it at all. That's the truth. That's no way to develop Communists or communist farmers.

There were also many irregularities in connection with the market in Cathedral Square, which was sponsored by the Ministry of Culture. Long before that market started up, when permission was given for freelance activities, privately owned stalls began to appear everywhere and people wanted to set up shop on every corner. A stop was put to this and it was made clear that craftsmen could sell their products, but they had to sell them to the state and the state would take care of retailing them. And that took care of the problem, and just in time too, otherwise the whole city would be full of stalls; because there's always a shortage of something, maybe toothpicks or those clips you hang out your washing with, whatever they're called... (LAUGHTER)

Unfortunately, there's always a shortage of something. Now then, how are we going to solve this problem? The capitalist way? I believe that the solution is to be found in local enterprises, in socialist formulas. It doesn't have to be a question of centralization or national planning, but rather of an initiative of local branches of People's Power — for example, opening a factory to make those clothespins or clotheshangers, instead of some character finding out that there are no clotheshangers and deciding to make them himself and sell them in some city corner at a price ten times higher than their real value. That way this character makes ten times what a worker makes; sometimes he even quits his job in a factory or an office and dedicates his time to making clotheshangers. That way doesn't benefit anybody. What we need is a socialist formula, local enterprises to take care of these problems, not capitalist formulas.

Cathedral Square was supposed to be used by real craftsmen, by artists, to exhibit and sell works of art. But it wasn't long before the bourgeois elements, the neobourgeoisie, made their appearance, and the whole trafficking of buying over here and stealing over there, buying leather

to make sandals — the famous 50-peso sandals — began. And this gave rise to the development of a new market. A very interesting experiment, I must say.

Nobody intends to attack the famous Square, but it must be run by real artists and real craftsmen. And if they charge too much for their articles, then the state will simply have to levy a high tax on them too, in order to take in revenue out of the exorbitant prices, because there's no reason for such things to happen.

When a person sells chickens for 15 pesos, even if he did raise them, that person is making more money in several weeks by selling a few chickens than a worker makes in a whole year. Really. And that's just plain robbery. If at least this person would stick to selling chickens to other lumpen elements... And that can happen too. A sort of lumpen class grows up, they trade among themselves and charge one another excessive prices. (LAUGHTER) But the problem comes when they sell to a worker, maybe a worker who wants to celebrate his daughter's birthday and decides to buy a turkey and pays a very high price for it. Now that worker keeps the transportation system going, he produces textiles, builds housing, schools and hospitals, grows sugarcane, produces sugar, milk, eggs and meat for the people. But he earns a modest salary, and meanwhile the lumpen element is making ten times more and putting in much less work than the worker. This can never be reconciled with the concepts of socialism and communism. That's the honest truth.

I'm bringing up these topics here because I believe there's no better place than this Congress of the Young Communist League to talk about them. (APPLAUSE) These things concern us all, because they are capitalist manifestations, bourgeois, antisocialist, anticommunist and anti-internationalist manifestations, and they promote corruption. But such corruption doesn't develop only in the context of these neocapitalist activities. No! It also develops in the context of purely socialist activities as a result of a lack of control, of weakness, of a lack of strict vigilance. This was revealed in that operation which I believe was called "Operation Crocodile." This had to do with the problem of the queue sharks and the problem with the administrators and employees who allowed themselves to be bribed. There were even tough guys in the queues. But the curious thing is that since we have made great advances in the quality of women, there were tough guys and tough gals. (LAUGHTER) both kinds, lining up in the queues; they grabbed the first places for themselves and divided them up among themselves, so any working woman or housewife there who wasn't willing to pick a fight simply couldn't get an electric fan or things like that. Why did this happen? The answer is lack of vigilance and controls. Those people had simply taken over control of things.

This all proves that not all lumpen elements left the country from Mariel. Some of them are still here. I knew this, it's nothing new, but now it's clear that we still have lumpen elements here, it's been proved. (APPLAUSE) These characters don't work, they just queue up, they really make a living out of robbing the people. They're thieves, unquestionably, no question that they're thieves. They're full-blooded lumpen elements, there's no way there are any Young Communists among them, of course. I was speaking about Young Communists selling a chicken and I said that also amounted to robbery, another type but still a robbery.

These things do happen, and these elements are corrupting people with gifts and things, even with money. And I believe that we must engage in a real battle against these abusive and antisocial activities and that's exactly what the Ministry of Domestic Trade and the National Revolutionary Police are doing. They're really going to go after the profiteering middlemen who made their way into the free farmers market. (LAUGHTER) the queue sharks, the corrupt officials and administrators and the "businessmen" of all kinds. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "FIDEL FOR SURE, HIT THE LUMPEN HARD")

A COMMUNIST, A YOUNG COMMUNIST SIMPLY HAS TO GO WITHOUT SOME THINGS THE LAW ALLOWS HIM TO HAVE, IF HE WANTS HIS CONDUCT TO BE A MORAL, REVOLUTIONARY, COMMUNIST CONDUCT

Needless to say, I cannot imagine a Young Communist being mixed up in such activities. A law can legalize robbery, as in the case of a turkey being sold for 50 or 60 pesos or whatever it was, or a head of garlic sold for a peso. But no law can condone immoral conduct. And those things are simply immoral, whether or not the law allows them. And a Communist, a Young Communist simply has to go without some things the law allows him to have, if he wants his conduct to be a moral, revolutionary, communist conduct. We are not yet living in a communist society and neither do all our citizens observe a communist conduct. That is true. But a Communist must observe a communist code of morals and a communist code of conduct.

This is why we are certain that our youth will combat all these vices, that it will combat lack of discipline, lack of responsibility and every manifestation of corruption wherever it crops up; that they will struggle for quality and results in services; that they will combat fraud and profit-seeking; that they will also combat bad manners and rudeness and will join in the task of educating our youth and all our people in general in this aspect. We know that the UJC will struggle for advanced forms of agricultural productions, for the implementation of socialist formulas, for socialist solutions to problems.

It was most encouraging to note in the summary of the Main Report that whereas 10 percent of our rural population is composed of young people, 20 percent of the members of the cooperative farms are young people. I believe that this battle will be won with the revolutionary spirit of our farmers, who are not to be confused with those lumpen elements, with those middlemen who pop up here and there.

I think the cooperative movement will keep forging ahead, with the help of the UJC and the work of the National Association of Small Farmers.

I've spoken about internationalism and an internationalist consciousness, and I think one of the most impressive moments of the Congress was when the topics of defense and internationalism were discussed, more forcefully, more vigorously, than ever before. That gave me a chance to appreciate the work being done by our youth organization toward the development of a communist consciousness, and this was reflected in the efforts made, for example, to organize the Ernesto Che Guevara contingent. (APPLAUSE) These young people are teaching in Angola and are members of the Student-Teacher Detachment; in the Frank Pais teachers' contingent, also teaching in Angola; and in the Augusto César Sandino contingent. (APPLAUSE) composed of 2000 teachers who are working in very difficult and at times dangerous conditions in Nicaragua. And when we speak of internationalism, we also think of the 120 000 or so Cubans in the Revolutionary Armed Forces alone who have carried out internationalist missions, and the more than 150 000 others who have fulfilled internationalist missions in the past few years not only as fighters but as doctors, builders, teachers and technicians. I consider these figures impressive; I think our Revolution and our country have a good record in the field of internationalism. And the work of the UJC has had a great deal to do with the development of this consciousness and this spirit.

The UJC is also to be given credit for being a source of Party cadres and members. This is just one more fundamental and decisive task of the organization, and its results are seen in the 92 percent who qualified to enter the process of selection for the Party and the 83 percent who went through the process and were selected for membership. I believe that these figures are really encouraging, as encouraging as the increase in the number of members

of the UJC who come from the labor and services sectors. Naturally, the requirements for admission to the UJC are different from those of the Party, because the UJC also has to work with the students, which is a very important task. It's extremely important to work among the workers, but work among the students cannot be neglected under any circumstances.

We have seen many outstanding examples in this Congress. I was deeply moved by the gesture of Comrade René Valdés, a young worker who is being trained in Czechoslovakia and was a delegate to the Congress. He donated 1000 pesos he had won for surpassing the production plan assigned to him. One thousand pesos earned through hard work, and he came here and donated them. With those 1000 pesos he could have gone to the movies one thousand times. (LAUGHTER) And if he keeps away from the free market and Cathedral Square, who knows how many things he could have bought with that kind of money? (LAUGHTER) But, instead, he came here and donated it. That is what I call a communist consciousness. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) If he had spent the money he wouldn't have been doing anything at all illegal; it would be absolutely legitimate to spend that money. There would have been nothing immoral, it would have been perfectly honest for him to use that money for his own benefit, because he had earned it with his work by overfulfilling his production plan. No one could deny his right to that money nor the honest way in which he earned it. He didn't obtain it by profiteering or anything like that.

THEIR IS A COMMUNIST ATTITUDE AND THESE COMRADES PERSONIFY CUBA'S YOUTH TODAY

Thinking of this young man's attitude, the attitude of conscientious workers, I find it similar to that of the two delegates present here who have already cut as much as more than 1700 tons of sugarcane in the present harvest, and that of the worker who pledged to turn out so many thousands of meters of cloth as a matter of honor. (APPLAUSE) Their is a communist attitude and these comrades personify Cuba's youth today. I am entirely convinced that all the comrades of the Party and of the Party leadership who took part in the Congress, all of us, are satisfied with what we've heard. I could say, in fact, that we are happy with the results of the Congress, happy (APPLAUSE) because we've had the opportunity to appreciate its quality and how it reflects the quality of our youth.

The skeptic who still has any doubts has had an opportunity to see what our youth is like, during the most recent great battles, the Marches of the Fighting People and in the mobilizations in view of the imperialist threats. In all these events our young people have demonstrated their strength and their fighting spirit.

I believe that the Congress has been a faithful reflection of what our youth is like. It has indeed been a magnificent Congress, very impressive for its quality, its human atmosphere, its communist and internationalist spirit. (APPLAUSE) its spirit of brotherhood, its warmth, the purity that has been visible in all aspects; for its sincerity and honesty, for the principled positions and the solid political awareness of all those who spoke here. If I'm not mistaken, more than 170 delegates took the floor. The statements and the correct way in which they were made; the resolutions, which reflected a unanimous spirit, a unanimous consciousness and a universal education; the speeches, brief yet full of ideas and useful, all interesting and many of them deeply moving; all these things reflected the democratic spirit of this Congress, the spontaneous way in which all the delegates spoke and the freedom of expression that prevailed at all times in the presence of numerous delegations of young people from other countries made us feel very proud.

I must mention, if only briefly, something else that came up at this Congress. And that was the initiative in connection with the donation of human organs, a serious

question of profound importance. A doctor who attended the Congress as delegate, and who is familiar with the problem, explained why the donation of organs is so important. It's not a question of anybody alive donating an organ. (LAUGHTER) Nobody is being asked to donate an arm, or a finger or a kidney, although there have been cases of kidney donation among members of the same family. But that's not what we're talking about. We're talking about something else, something that is a very delicate question because it has to do with that sacred thing called the human body, it has to do with corpses and mysticism — and, I dare say, also with superstition.

It's a question of a person donating some of his or her organs after death, that is, when there's absolutely no use for them any more. (LAUGHTER) A kidney. If a kidney is needed, or an eye, or perhaps part of a bone. In short, any part of the human body that there is need for. It's a question of developing an awareness and educating people on this matter. I believe that all of us have a right to do what we want with ourselves, isn't that right? Then why should anybody start handling us after we are dead, start doing to us something someone else decided should be done? We have the right to donate part of ourselves. It's perfectly all right. But it's necessary to educate people about questions, because on top of the grief caused by death there is a whole series of feelings in relation to corpses. These feelings are very understandable, very human and very natural, but they are not rational; and a Communist must struggle against anything that is not rational when the objective is a noble and humane one.

That doctor, the doctor-delegate, told us that every year there are 1200 cases of renal failure, and that 50 percent of patients could be saved by a kidney transplant. Meanwhile, other persons die as a result of an accident or some specific circumstances — generally exceptional — and their kidneys, perfectly healthy, could help save the life of a victim of renal failure. Actually, a person who donates a kidney goes on living, a little bit of him goes on living, in the form of the kidney transplanted into another person. (LAUGHTER) And the same goes for an eye transplanted to another person; that person's eye goes on living in the other person. The doctor said that there are 3000 blind people waiting for eye donations. Three thousand people that could regain their sight with a simple eye donation! But they can't because there are no donations. These are special cases whose recovery is obtained through transplants. The doctor also said that there were 3000 cripples in need of a bone or perhaps even part of a bone, and there aren't any.

Now then, when we look at this problem we shouldn't look at it only from the standpoint of 1200 victims of renal failure every year, or 3000 persons with eye trouble or 3000 others who are crippled. It's not a question of numbers. The important thing is the feeling of security that donations would give our people, the security for the 10 million persons in our civilized society. If they knew that some day their fathers, brothers or sisters, children, husbands or wives were to be afflicted by some illness affecting an eye, a kidney or a bone, that problem could be solved with a donation. Think of the feeling of security this would give to the 10 million citizens of this country to know that there are people here who have the awareness, the education, the cultural level and the degree of civilization to enable them

to do something that really costs nothing, something as easy as donating an eye after death. After all, otherwise that eye will only become food for the worms. (LAUGHTER) Because it's our custom to bury the entire body, all of it, and the worms eat it all. That's the problem.

THIS IS A PROBLEM THAT CAN'T BE TACKLED BY ENACTING A LAW, IT SHOULDN'T BE HANDLED BY MEANS OF A LAW IN OUR COUNTRY, IT SHOULD RESULT FROM AWARENESS

I remember that once — I don't know how this has been handled in other countries but I understand, though I'm not sure, some countries have enacted laws about this — when the issue was discussed here once I said: no, this is a problem that can't be tackled by enacting a law, it shouldn't be handled by means of a law in our country, it should result from awareness, an awareness which must be developed by the work of the UJC, the mass organizations and everybody else. Well, all the delegates have already donated, they have signed the book, in case they have an accident or die and an organ can be useful or necessary. I wanted to sign it but I didn't because I am not a delegate, (LAUGHTER) but I would gladly donate. I'm not your age but I still feel healthy and can donate some things. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

Some expert said kidneys could be donated until a person was 70, didn't he?

Parents can sign for their children — everybody's eligible. But it must result from awareness, not just be done by law, otherwise it would not be educational or revolutionary. Making a law would not be an advance and anyway it would be an unpopular law.

No, it should be solved by developing awareness; let's see if all the millions of our people give permission and thus we deprive the worms (LAUGHTER) of a bit of organs which can be useful in case of death under certain circumstances.

I repeat, this should not be viewed in numerical terms, just think of the security it will offer to all our 10 million citizens. No question of laws; it's a matter of awareness since we are striving for a superior, more just and civilized society. Let's cast aside those prejudices and sentimentality for which there's no justification and develop a superior awareness, an awareness of the extraordinary benefit resulting from the fact that at the moment one life is lost we can give another life; as one pair of eyes closes we can give sight to another. That's what is involved.

I think this initiative is historic. This struggle which you start, this example, is something worthy of this Congress.

I don't want to go on much more. I was intending to discuss the difficult and complicated world situation but I'll limit myself to... (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "SPEAK!" "SPEAK!") Basically I'll limit myself to reminding you that we live in a world in crisis, a world of great danger, with an arms race that is careering along totally unchecked, resulting from imperialist policy. I want to remind you of how arms production of all kinds continues to multiply: nuclear weapons, delivery systems, missiles, sophisticated planes, neutron weapons, chemical weapons, biological weapons, threatening a world which is also in the grip of the worst economic crisis in living memory, one for which there is no solution in sight.

These are difficult times and young people should know how difficult they are, since they have to prepare to live in such a world. That is what we are doing when we educate ourselves and develop consciousness and spirit, a principled policy, firmness, heroism and internationalism; we're getting ready for a difficult world. We must realize this.

The world picture is complicated, and likely to become even more so. Imperialist plans to deploy 572 medium-range missiles in Europe pose a huge danger to the socialist community and the Soviet Union, for it is now threatened not only by intercontinental missiles, but by missiles stationed in Europe which could fall on Moscow and other Soviet cities, and on the socialist capitals, in a matter of minutes. What madness, especially if we remember that the imperialists led the world to the brink of war when 42 such missiles were stationed in our country! Now they want to

station 572 more sophisticated versions of such missiles along the borders of the Soviet Union. If such a policy is pursued the danger to the world will surely be great and there is a risk of grave complications.

As far as Cuba in particular is concerned, in addition to the worldwide danger and the general economic crisis, we have the specific perils resulting from imperialist threats which you know about, threats that have forced us to adopt serious measures. They have intensified the economic blockade against us; they are actively trying to tighten it and make life harder for our people; they are strongly pressuring all Western countries as regards their financial and economic relations with Cuba. They have been doing all they can to tighten the blockade and cause us problems.

There has also been talk of subversion. You'll remember there was even talk of a radio station which they were going to call José Martí. We are still waiting for that station. So far we have been a bit let down, like the boxer who climbs into the ring only to find his opponent hasn't shown up. (APPLAUSE) I don't know if they were trying to scare us with their radio station, but the fact is that nothing has materialized yet, it isn't even known whether or not it really will be set up. It would be more constructive if they didn't, but you must remember that we are boxers. On principle we want peace; we prefer to keep boxing to the field of sports (LAUGHTER); and if after all there were a dialectical confrontation between them and us, them with their subversive station and us with our reply, it would be better for there to be no match, that would be more peaceful. However, we had a fitting reply to their subversive radio ready. Of course we'd rather it didn't start up, because it would be a fresh source of friction, irritation and tension. The sensible thing in my view would be for them to drop the whole idea.

WE HAVE INCREASED OUR DEFENSIVE POTENTIAL TO THE UTMOST, AS WAS OUR DUTY; WE HAVE BEEN DOING SO SINCE LAST YEAR, SINCE THEY BEGAN THREATENING US

Faced by the threats of aggression we have taken many measures and made many plans; for example, on the most efficient way to resist a total blockade of the country. All of you know something about all this by now, what measures should be taken in case of any military action, any surprise attack. We have worked hard and in silence for many weeks, we've made efforts and sacrifices, but we haven't hesitated to make them. We have increased our defensive potential to the utmost, as was our duty; we have been doing so since last year, since they began threatening us. For it was the threat of blockade and military aggression which led to large-scale delivery of weapons to our country. It wasn't for fun, it wasn't because we wanted to, it was because we were threatened. That is why we established the Territorial Troop Militia, that is why we have prepared plans against naval blockade and enemy military action of any kind. That is the reason and none other, it is the only reason. We have worked hard and silently, I repeat, to deal with all those risks and we are calm, we are not worried.

There is tension in the area. Everyone talks of this tension, and of the danger in the area, and they are real; the problems in Central America and the Caribbean have become a kind of focal point of international conflict. From what has been published lately you know a lot about the situation in El Salvador and Nicaragua. You know that many people, organizations and world opinion have spoken out for a negotiated political settlement in El Salvador for negotiated political settlements in Central America and the Caribbean in general. Many organizations, the UN first and foremost the Socialist International and others; many countries such as France and Mexico. Not just international opinion, but also public opinion in the United States itself; in the Congress of the United States there has been support for a negotiated political settlement in Central America. The U.S. administration has persistently opposed this. They have opted to try to crush the revolutionaries by military means, they have imposed incredible elections in the middle of a civil war, genocide and terror, elections where those who didn't vote risked being murdered by the terror, elections from which the left was excluded. Nobody believed

in those elections or viewed them as a solution, only the government of the United States. The elections haven't solved anything and there is no likelihood that they will. There is rather a likelihood that the far right will take over the government or that there will be some kind of a coalition between the Christian Democrats of the current junta and the far right. We can categorically state that they have solved nothing and that the fascists and butchers will never be able to smash the revolutionaries. (APPLAUSE) No attempt to crush the revolutionaries by force will ever succeed.

The international and Central American situations, plus the situation in the area, all make a negotiated political settlement advisable.

It was in fact proposed by the governments of Mexico and France. Recently, as you may remember, Mexican President José López Portillo reiterated his country's position and called for a negotiated political settlement. The Mexican position was backed by Cuba, Nicaragua and the revolutionaries in El Salvador. It has broad international support. Imperialism will have to choose between a clearly absurd policy of intervention which is bound to fail or a negotiated political settlement in Central America and El Salvador.

We have publicly expressed our support for Mexico's position and we coincide with the position of Nicaragua and the Salvadoran revolutionaries.

The Mexicans have gone even further; they have spoken of the need for talks and bilateral contacts between the United States and Nicaragua and the United States and Cuba. We have not rejected any of these proposals. This is the policy outlined at the 2nd Congress of our Party and the same policy we have always maintained: we do not refuse dialogue, discussion or negotiations.

At present nobody has the slightest idea whether things will turn out that way. Basically it won't depend on us or the Nicaraguans or the Salvadoran revolutionaries. It will depend on the United States, it is they who will have to choose between one policy or another. It will depend on whether they recognize reality as such or set out on a collision course against reality; whether they decide on intervention in the area or a political path, the path of dialogue and political solutions.

I remember very well that yesterday, following the demonstrations of fighting spirit by our young people, a comrade spoke movingly and profoundly about peace and proposed a resolution supporting the struggle for peace. I also remember Raúl's eloquent words as he explained that everything we were doing for the defense of the country, the efforts and sacrifices we were making for defense, in fact increased the possibilities of peace, because if we are weak we are in a dangerous position, if we fear the enemy we expose ourselves to danger and encourage attack. If we are strong, courageous and determined, if we are ready to fight to the last drop of blood — as we have said we are, over and over again — the enemy will have to give the matter second thoughts, he will have to calculate the price of an attack on our country.

BY STRENGTHENING OUR DEFENSES WE ARE EXPRESSING OUR DECISION TO DEFEND OURSELVES, TO STRUGGLE VERY FIRMLY AND HEROICALLY

By strengthening our defenses we are expressing our decision to defend ourselves, to struggle very firmly and heroically something which I'm sure imperialism does not doubt.

Imperialism hasn't the slightest doubt on that score. We're bolstering the possibilities for peace for nothing is further from our thoughts than the desire to wage war. In today's world no one aware of the situation and of the dangers could possibly be in favor of a military solution to the problems. There's no place in today's world for military solutions of any kind. The belief that the problems of today's world can be solved militarily is an imperialist belief; the belief that they can play the role of police-

men, turn back the clock of history, impose their will, browbeat the peoples, freeze human society, block changes: these are precisely the ideas held by the imperialists. They could never be the ideas of Communists, the ideas of internationalists.

The clear, unambiguous stand our country takes has been publicly set forth. It is willing to work in the search for negotiated political solutions to the problems of El Salvador, Central America, the whole region. We support the stand taken by that illustrious friend of Cuba, President José López Portillo, and we do so firmly, seriously. The Mexicans also suggested — they suggested it publicly, they suggested it to us, they suggested it to the government of the United States — a toning down of language, a sort of verbal de-escalation.

But you kept telling me: "Hit the Yankees hard," and "Fidel, pitch 'em in, Reagan can't hit." (LAUGHTER) You kept urging me not to tone down my language. However, it is my duty to moderate my language. I have, in fact, done so. I have spoken very clearly, very frankly, but with moderation, I think (LAUGHTER).

In the final count, the essence of a policy does not lie in the virulence of its epithets but in the staunchness of its principles. (APPLAUSE) and we have always been faithful to that essence.

It is unthinkable that fear can ever be instilled in our people, in our Party, in our leadership. On the contrary, our people feel quite at ease, quite serene, quite confident of themselves, quite convinced of their own strength, of their reasons, of their integrity. Our Party and our Revolution are sure of their history and their glory as well as of their victory. They know that nothing can make us yield, nothing can defeat us, nothing can dominate us. They can sweep us off the face of the earth, but we are aware that if one defends a just cause, being swept off the face of the earth brings glory in its train. (APPLAUSE)

We do not negotiate our principles, nor do we feel any fear; we have our duties and responsibilities, we have our duties to the international revolutionary movement, to world peace and to our own people. We also have our dreams, we hope our people can go on advancing, progressing, winning new victories. We dream about the next Congress of the Party and the next Congress of the UJC, of a long future. We do not dream as individuals, this is our collective dream, our people dream, our collective soul dreams, you yourselves dream, for the Revolution entails hard work, sacrifices, but it also entails satisfaction, happiness, the conviction of living a life well worth living, of living through an epoch well worth living in. We feel the great dignity involved in our task and in our work. We're willing to risk anything for this, we are all willing to die for our independence, for our principles, for our Revolution. That's why I said that peace will prevail if, among other things, the imperialists are aware we're willing to die for it, to struggle for it to our last breath. We live in the hope that peace will prevail, and if we can contribute to it by adding our grain of sand, we do so in all seriousness and in all responsibility.

That is how the current situation is. We're prepared for anything, we're prepared to fight and we're also prepared to talk. We're prepared to confront aggression at its worst just as we're prepared to search for political and negotiated solutions to the problems. We're quite willing to do what ever is necessary to make whatever sacrifices are necessary and to take whatever risks are necessary to safeguard our country in the face of aggression, just as we're also willing to work seriously for peace. Peace for the world, peace for Central America, peace for the Caribbean, and peace for our homeland, for our people.

THERE'S NO PROBLEM WHICH ONCE BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE UJC AND ITS BRANCHES CAN'T BE SOLVED

We must be aware of all this — that's what I can tell

you about the current situation. And I want to express to you, once again, our boundless confidence in our youth. We're very happy with the work you've done as reflected in your outstanding accomplishments, your truly outstanding accomplishments.

There's no problem which once brought to the attention of the UIC and its branches can't be solved. When we set out to boost the efficiency of our sugar mills and achieve better harvests we realized that thousands of people were needed for this, that many sugar mills in some provinces lacked engineers, lacked chemists, economists and other essential professionals. So we approached the UIC, we approached the FEU and asked the senior students in various university careers to help. And immediately all the people we needed for the sugar mills came forward and are working there now. That was the kind of willingness the students showed.

It was necessary to fill some vacancies in the armed forces to handle the new weapons we now have, which have a complex technology, and we needed a large number of engineers for this, particularly for defensive anti-aircraft weapons. There were 300 students enrolled in the last year of the specialties involved and we needed about 100 of them at that time, very urgently. So we approached the UIC and the FEU and of the available 300 final-year students all 300 of them — 100 percent! — offered to join the armed forces! (APPLAUSE) In view of such willingness we even raised the original figure of 100 to 150, including men and women. Some of them are here now, in uniform, as delegates to the Congress. It was an impressive response, 100 percent. I really think these figures speak of the stuff our young men and women are made of.

In Ciego de Avila a number of members of the Army of Working Youth were about to be discharged and we needed cane-cutters. The UIC met with them to raise the problem and ask them to stay to bring in the harvest. They had already served their time and done their duty there; but 90 percent of them gave a positive answer! (APPLAUSE) And, to mention one last example, the Nicaraguans asked us for 100 additional doctors. We were about to graduate the last class. So we decided to make a survey among the final-year medical students about to graduate, who had already had medical practice, and asked them who was willing — for we needed 100 doctors — to take on that internationalist assignment in Nicaragua. Of the 1000 final-year medical students, all 1000 of them agreed to take on that internationalist assignment. (APPLAUSE) And all we needed were 100. A hundred! It wasn't 10 percent, 20 percent, 50 percent who came forward. In the two cases, to meet the need of the armed forces, 100 percent, and to meet the need for 100 doctors, 100 percent. I think we ought to feel satisfied, for this is the fruit of our years of Revolution, this is the fruit of 20 years of work, which we are commemorating today, by the communist youth, the fruit of a forming of consciousness. (APPLAUSE)

These things encourage us and cheer us on greatly. They balance out the problems that the lumpen elements still loitering about can cause us, it's a counterbalance. On the one hand the negative features, on the other the positive. But the positive side is impressively represented by the vast majority of our people and our youth. That's what our Revolution and our youth are like. Hence the optimism we all feel, for these are not mere words, we're quoting figures: 300 out of 300; 1000 out of 1000.

To set up the Carlos J. Finlay Detachment 14 200 students came forward for 3807 places. (APPLAUSE) What else need I say about something I already mentioned? What else need I say about the 92 000 teachers who have signed up showing their willingness to go and teach in Nicaragua? (APPLAUSE)

I think these are really outstanding examples. We've every reason to feel happy, that's why we have the assurance, that assurance so aptly embodied in the phrase that serves as the motto to this ceremony, the assurance we so ardently desired. We're aware of the weaknesses of our own genera-

tion, which I mentioned when I began my speech, referring to what I said 20 years ago, what happened to us then. In those days I said we had difficulties in the politico-ideological field. No one can suggest that the past turned out to be more difficult than the future maybe, the times you will be facing. I meant it in a different sense, in a political sense. Everything is different now and so, well, these are not mere words: today we can count on a youth we didn't even dream of back then.

WE MUST GO ON BEING EVER MORE SOCIALIST, EVER MORE COMMUNIST, WHATEVER HAPPENS, WHETHER THERE IS VIOLENT CONFRONTATION OR PEACE!

And something very important, very important indeed: whether we live in conflict or in peace with our northern neighbors, they'll go on being capitalists for a long time yet; there's no way their mercantilism is going to yield the right-of-way to socialism in the short term, no way. And we must go on being ever more socialist, ever more communist, whatever happens, whether there is violent confrontation or peace! That's why we feel so certain of what we said, of what we wanted — that the new generation should be tougher, more revolutionary, more internationalist and more intransigent than our own Revolution.

I was saying we were willing to donate an eye, to donate anything necessary; but we, the generation who stormed the Moncada Garrison, who sailed on the *Granma*, who have lived through all these years of hard struggle, we want a donation when we pass away, we want the assurance that we have an increasingly revolutionary people (APPLAUSE) for when we no longer physically exist, to have as of this day the certainty that everything will turn out to be better, that everything will turn out to be safer, and that our Revolution will be increasingly solid and safe, and relying not just on the men and women, because our Revolution does not rely on men and women but on principles. That is the donation which we are by no means demanding of you, for it is you yourselves who by your conduct, your attitude and your spirit are offering it to us.

The physical body in itself is of no importance; but ideas are of great importance to us, the future of the country is of great importance to us. I am sure, it gives us satisfaction to think that when Martí fell in Dos Ríos, when Maceo fell in Punta Brava, when so many of our comrades fell during the struggle, they would all have rejoiced to see young men and women like yourselves, a Congress like this one, and to see how far our people and our youth have advanced in their revolutionary spirit, in their sense of justice, in the highest and most humane values. I am certain of that.

How sad it is when one hears that death was in vain. I never believed — and I always said so as a student, and many people said so — that none of the sacrifices that preceded us had been made in vain. But then it hadn't yet been proven that we would be reaping the fruits of their sacrifices. No one has died in vain, for the Revolution and you yourselves have seen to it that all those lives be redeemed.

We have great confidence — we know that our young men and women will always march on. They'll draw their inspiration from the ideas and the example of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Martí, Maceo, Mella, Abel Santamaría, José Antonio Echeverría, Frank País, Camilo and Che (SHOUTS OF "AND FIDEL!" AND APPLAUSE); from the ideas of the immense and admirable legion of pure, true revolutionaries, of so many marvelous men and women who have made their mark in the world and in our homeland. (APPLAUSE) We have great confidence that our young men and women will build communism and forge a new world!

Patria o muerte!
Venceremos!
(OVATION)

U.S. POLICY ON RADIO MARTI CRITICIZED

Havana PRISMA LATINOAMERICANO in Spanish Feb 82 p 24

[Article by Victorio M. Copa: "Radio Lies"]

[Text] The United States' decision to set up a radio station to broadcast diversionary radio programs to Cuba is a further act of interference in the internal affairs of the largest island of the West Indies.

President Ronald Reagan's advisers on national security said that the installation--which in principle will be known as "Radio Jose Marti"--is supposedly intended to report to the Cuban people about what their own government is doing."

"After all, the Cuban people deserve to get more thorough information on conditions in the country and on the activities of (President Fidel) Castro's regime," U.S. officials are reported saying.

State Department experts have failed to comment on how this measure will affect talks between the two countries on technical problems in the sphere of broadcasting.

Representatives of the Cuban Institute of Radio and Television (ICRT) and of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) met in April 1981, alternately in Havana and Washington, to study ways of avoiding interferences in their respective broadcast channels.

The Reagan administration has asked Congress for \$10 million worth of appropriations for 1982 to set up the anti-Cuban broadcasting station while it is modernizing existing facilities in Florida and using the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and terrorist groups of Cuban nationals to carry out subversive activities.

U.S. Government officials have noted that this radio station scheduled to broadcast programs in Spanish on the medium wave (AM) is similar to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, operated by the CIA and the Pentagon and beamed to the Soviet Union and to countries of the socialist community.

President Reagan's own national security adviser insists in saying that "the Cuban people are entitled to know about what is happening in their country and that to achieve this end, the United States will use all available means."

Diplomatic and journalistic circles in Havana agree that this decision of the Republican administration will institutionalize the radio and propaganda campaign conducted since 1959 by the United States against Cuba.

In July of last year, the U.S. magazine POPULAR ELECTRONICS disclosed that several radio stations are broadcasting against Cuba out of U.S. territory, mainly from the state of Florida.

According to the report, these stations broadcast regular programs without interference from the federal authorities.

POPULAR ELECTRONICS says that among those stations are Radio Trinchera [Radio Trench], the Voice of Independence and Democratic Cuba, the Christian Voice of Cuba, the Progressive Youth of Cuba, the Voice of Alfa 66, Radio Abdala and the Cuban Freedom Radio.

According to the U.S. magazine, there is also a professional-level radio station operating under the name of Radio Free Cuba and that its sponsors claim that it represents the "Christian Democratic Movement of Cuba."

In this new ideological warfare directed against Cuba, the CIA is reported to be attempting to bring together in Radio Jose Marti all counterrevolutionary elements who are already working for pirate stations broadcasting from U.S. territory.

Towards the end of 1981, government officials in Washington indicated that the location of the new stations was yet to be selected but they mentioned several locations in the United States--Florida being one of the possibilities--or in islands of the Caribbean.

During the CIA-organized mercenary invasion of Cuba in Playa Giron (Bay of Pigs) in 1961, that intelligence agency set up a pirate station on Swan Island, off the Central American coast.

The Cuban Center for Marti Studies has denounced the setting up of Radio Jose Marti as being what amounts to a declaration of radio war against the largest island of the West Indies and as a strange peacetime development.

"It proves," the center added, "the absurd and wild hatred which the incorruptible example of Cuba inspired in U.S. rulers."

"While it is true that U.S. broadcasts can reach Cuba, Cuban broadcasts can also get through to the United States and they will not be conveying false and reactionary messages but the voice of truth," the center points out.

It notes that the establishment of this radio station was included in the report issued by the so-called Santa Fe Committee, platform of the current administration, also containing the very strong threat that "should propaganda fail, a war of liberation must be launched against (Fidel) Castro."

When the president of the Council of State, Fidel Castro, warned the Cuban people that the United States will substantially step up subversive activities against the island, he strongly criticized the setting up of this radio station.

When the president of the Council of State, Fidel Castro, warned the Cuban people that the United States will substantially step up subversive activities against the island, he strongly criticized the setting up of this radio station.

"One must be utterly cynical, immoral and brazen to propose the idea of setting up on U.S. territory a radio station to fight the revolution, to attempt to subvert and destabilize the revolution," the Cuban leader said.

He underlined that, naturally, such a move will not go unanswered and noted that the Cubans will assert their right to use the names of genuine U.S. patriots such as George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

8796

CSO: 5500/2189

ISRAELI ATTACK AGAINST LEBANON CONDEMNED

FL230229 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 23 Apr 82

[Declaration by Cuban Foreign Ministry on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon--
read by announcer]

[Text] Latest reports from Beirut note that several Israeli aircraft squadrons violated Lebanese air space to brutally bomb the towns of Ad Damur, (Inbeme) and other Palestinian camps located in the Lebanese capital's suburbs, while Zionist armored units and troops began their advance on Lebanese territory from the area controlled by the separatist militias of Lebanese Army deserter (Sad Haddad).

At the same time that these actions were taking place, the Zionist authorities unleashed an intense propaganda campaign aimed at creating a state of public opinion which would make it possible for them to justify this new aggression against the Palestinians and Lebanon.

These warlike actions constitute (?the prelude) of a new Israeli aggression, a large scale invasion of Lebanese territory and the Palestinian people.

Once again, we reiterate that the Zionist state is able to carry out such criminal acts because of the unlimited support offered by the U.S. Government in all fields. An irrefutable proof of this alliance is the recent U.S. veto of the Security Council resolution condemning the brutal incident that took place at the (?Dome of the Rock) Mosque.

Once again, the Israeli Government, with total disregard for the most essential norms of international coexistence and in open defiance of world public opinion, has perpetrated one more criminal and genocidal act against the heroic Palestinian people, which represents a serious threat to peace in the region and the entire world.

With this warlike escalation, Israel tramples on Lebanon's sovereignty and integrity, violates the UN Charter and increases the risk of war in the Middle East, which could lead to a conflict of serious proportions.

The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Cuba energetically condemns this criminal aggression of the terrorist Government of Israel, which can only be conceived because of the impunity that its U.S. imperialist ally pretends to offer, and warns world public opinion that no effort should be spared to impede Israel, with U.S. complicity, from massacring the courageous and heroic Palestinian people, the Lebanese national movement and Lebanon's civilian population.

CSO: 3010/1430

CUBA-CONGO COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS VIEWED

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 18 Apr 82 p 12

[Article by Ramon Martinez]

[Text]



THIS YEAR, the People's Republic of the Congo began work on its first five-year plan (1982-86) in which agriculture and cattle-raising play a major role. In an exclusive interview with Prensa Latina, the minister in charge of those sectors, Marius Mouabenga, outlined the main objectives of his agency for the next five years and commented that his government and the Congolese Party of Labor were confident that the help of friendly countries would make a key contribution.

"Above all, we must improve the diet of the population and lay the foundations so that by the year 2000 we can be self-sufficient in terms of supplying all basic foodstuffs.

"Over the next five years our agriculture will have to yield enough to be able to export a certain amount of produce, in addition to becoming the main source of jobs and a dependable source of raw materials for our industry.

"In practical terms, we plan to reorganize both animal and vegetable production enterprises and complete several projects."

After a quick glance at several papers, the Congolese leader also told us, "We are readying and planting 10 000 more hectares of coffee and cacao, and an equal area of palm trees. We also plan to build a factory to process and refine edible oils.

"We also have a program to harvest coconuts on a large scale and plan to set up rice and corn complexes."

Before 1986 the Congo plans to be manufacturing cement on a stable basis, since it is widely used and very important to agriculture. At present the country has to import it.

The five-year plan gives priority to production by small farmers, who should be supplied with

the required means of organization and resources in order to obtain good harvests of coconuts, coffee, corn, yucca, and other produce that can be grown easily in the Congo.

FRIENDLY COOPERATION

"We need a lot of help from friendly countries," said Minister Mouabenga, who also told us about the help the Congo is receiving from some socialist countries.

"Among the most important projects which are under way that we must finish before 1986 are those for livestock-breeding in Louboumou and Rouendou. Technicians from Bulgaria are helping us out here.

"These projects are linked to a poultry complex being built in Pointe Noire and new farms to raise pigs and other animals in Sangar. Likouala, Plateaux and other regions of the country that will lead to a big increase in national meat output."

With the help of the Soviet Union, the Congolese Ministry of Agriculture and Cattle-Raising is also involved in a project to increase cattle herds.

"At the same time, we are working to increase the level of mechanization and research in this sector and plan to organize our own specialized scientific research center with the help of friendly countries," the minister said.

RELATIONS WITH CUBA

"One thing we should stress is the importance of our ties with Cuba in poultry- and livestock-raising and in agriculture in general. These ties of cooperation date back a number of years and will continue during the next five years."

The minister mentioned the work done at the Red Kilometer experimental farm, located about 80 kilometers north of Brazzaville. Here nine Cubans are advising 21 Congolese profes-

sionals, technicians and workers who are engaged in the difficult task of providing this African country with cattle that will be good milk and meat producers and that at the same time will adapt well to the climate.

During the first stage tests were run on the ability of purebreds (holstein, zebu, Jersey, St. Gertrudis and Charolaise) to adapt to the climate, with successful results. The next stage is to cross-breed them with the local Ndama cow, a small animal which gives little milk and meat.

Dr. Ndouang Dambert-René, who heads the farm, told us that, in his opinion and that of the other Congolese staff members, the Cuban advisers were "dedicated workers and outstanding teachers."

Minister Mouabenga also stressed the importance of the work done by this group in prospecting for water and then drilling and exploiting a well in an area traditionally viewed by residents and experts alike as dry. "It was believed that there was no hope of finding water there," the minister remarked.

"This solved a serious social problem since the people there never had water. Now that we've found it, they have water thanks to the Cubans."

Another equally important feature of Cuban aid is in the poultry development program.

"The Cuban government has already sent us several experts in this field, and recently we talked with the Cuban ambassador, Darío Urra, about new ways of contributing to this sector."

In his review of Cuban cooperation, the minister mentioned another very important field, the training of cadres and skilled personnel.

"Many of our technicians and specialists studied in Cuba," he said "and now they are making a vital contribution to carrying out our development programs."

"All this leads us to expect that cooperation between Cuba and the People's Republic of the Congo in poultry and livestock-breeding and agriculture in general will increase during the coming years and be decisive for our economy," Minister Marius Mouabenga concluded.

'OPERATION CROCODILE' REVEALS ILLEGAL ACTS

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 26 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Lazaro Barredo Medina]

[Text] Another bandit who thought he was home free is the *colero*.

The greed of these antisocial elements, who hide behind the definition "concerned organizers of lines" [*colas*], seems to be part of science fiction, and yet, they have worked among us, getting rich at the expense of our efforts, sowing ambition and corrupt desires among tiny groups of service workers.

What is worse, they turned their vile conduct into something common and everyday because of the lack of vigilance on the part of the administrative officials in those units and the intermediate structures that are to oversee and inspect the proper operation of services.

The *colero* speculates on our needs, but in addition, he brings a lack of social discipline and public disorder.

As if by magic (no one could believe it), he learns about all the scarce items that are going to be put on the market, including the day, time, and place. This gives him an opportunity to organize the inconceivable sight, every night, of a tumultuous crowd of persons in front of the store, persons included on a list of hundreds of names. This scene is repeated for several days, even weeks.

That is where the *colero*'s "professionalism" comes in, from the organizer of the list, who monopolizes the first places in line in order to make money on speculation through the sale of turns at high prices or who "buys" several ration books of industrial products and purchases the items for later resale, to the *colero*'s partners (*guaposos*), who act as line breakers and who mess up the entry to the store at the slightest sign of protest or danger to the *bisne*.

This thievery in a country of workers is intolerable and the Revolution did not wait long before pouncing on those involved.

The *colero* was bitten by the crocodile, and how!

With the greatest discretion, the revolutionary response was planned. Participating were many inspectors and domestic trade workers, members of the National Revolutionary Police and local organs of people's government, which enjoyed the valuable cooperation of mass organizations.

The bait was the offer of fans on the commercial market, whose sale on other occasion had been a plum for the coleros.

From the very time when the lines began to be organized, the phenomenon was seen. All elements involved in the buying and selling of turns and the so-called linebreakers (both *guapos* and *guapas*) were located and it was possible to detect their relations with a number of workers in the stores themselves.

This entire staging served to set up Operation Crocodile, whose main objective was to learn the inside operation and catch the wrongdoers red-handed.

It must be said that the success of the work would not have been possible without the work of the inspectors and members of the PNR and mass organizations, who maintained close vigilance over such illegal acts day and night for several days running.

This gave the operation its effectiveness. By the time the Operation began, all the elements involved was already neutralized. Every one was surprised at the evidence shown of his illegal action.

In order to give an idea of the pernicious work of these antisocial elements, it was learned, for example, that given the number of turns controlled by the coleros for the retail scheme, if the operation had not been carried out, only 20 percent of the fans offered would have reached the people.

There were coleros who managed to control up to the first 20 turns in a line. The smallest number was five.

In addition, the shameful participation of employees, cashiers, warehouse foremen and even store managers was uncovered. These people were generally working with the others or were implicated in fraudulent dealings or favoritism, taking advantage of their jobs to make profit for themselves or others.

In one case, the first turn in line belonged to the store manager himself and there were other ploys with the same intent.

It was proven that many of these persons are parasites in our society, living off the sale of turns or by reselling articles.

People's Action

One thing attracted attention, it was the spontaneous manifestation of indignation of the coleros and corrupt employees by the people going to the stores and the honest employees in such centers, who praised the effectiveness of the measure, which was summed up in the massive applause and support for the Revolution.

One can never forget the great joy of one old lady who, prompted by her nervousness, would approach the members of the PNR to exclaim: "Oh, comrades! If you had not come, I would never have gotten this fan because these coleros get everything. How happy I am!"

Such scenes were repeated over and over throughout this active day when, for the first time in a long time, all the articles for sale went to the people.

The rapid action led to the arrest of these elements, the investigation of whom began immediately. It was learned that many had criminal records.

Searches of homes yielded positive results in many cases and what was found is surprising.

How many dirty dealings at the expense of the people can this social scum have carried out?

Only total ambition, vagrancy, a lumpen or twisted social spirit can explain such conduct.

One woman was found to have, among other articles, over 200 meters of cloth. Taken from another were 27 ration books for industrial products and six for food. Yet another had several fans stored at home. A fourth was hoarding pants and then sold them illegally.

In another case, hundreds of glasses were being accumulated. Color television sets, tape recorders, refrigerators and other objects were found and their procurement could not be justified (which the operation shows). Some persons had astronomical sums in the bank and vehicles for their illegal use.

In some cases, the investigations are continuing, but all those involved have been turned over to the people's courts.

Our society exalts the work of man, but the delinquent will have nothing but scorn and the inexorable action of revolutionary justice.

Operation Crocodile is a warning and the beginning of systematic action against these crooks, action in which all our people will participate.

11,464
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MONTANE SPEECH TO VIETNAMESE COMMUNIST CONGRESS

Havana GRAJMA in Spanish 30 Mar 82 p 5

[Speech by Jesus Montane Oropesa, an alternate member of the Cuban Communist Party Politburo, before the Fifth Vietnamese Communist Party Congress in Hanoi; date not specified]

[Text] Our most determined, energetic and active solidarity must today be directed toward our Nicaraguan and Salvadoran brothers. Their struggle is our struggle. Their victory will be that of all the peoples in the world.

Hanoi, 29 March—Dear Comrade Le Duan and Other Members of the Politburo of the Vietnamese Communist Party's Central Committee, Dear Representatives of our brother parties and national liberation movements, Dear Comrade Delegates:

These past few days our delegation to the Fifth Vietnamese Communist Party Congress has experienced moments filled with emotion. First, we had the opportunity to attend the opening of this magnificent congress, then we listened to the extraordinary report delivered to you by our dear Comrade Le Duan and today we are experiencing the joy of being able to address you delegates to the Fifth Congress of the glorious Vietnamese Communist Party.

Above all, I want to express to you our profound gratitude for the proofs of friendship and solidarity the party, the government and the people of Vietnam have constantly extended the Cuban Revolutionary Government. Now, in the face of new Yankee imperialist threats, our Vietnamese brothers have responded actively through their political and mass organizations, mobilizing for combat in solidarity with our country, an action splendidly expressed by Comrade Le Duan when he warned our common enemy: "Don't touch Cuba."

In leaving our country, we were entrusted with a mission which we want to carry out here today: to transmit to all you heroic people of Vietnam, to your workers and women, to your fighters, to your children and old people an affectionate salute from your Cuban brothers, a fraternal message from our Communist Party and especially a great big hug from the supreme leader of our revolution, Comrade Fidel Castro.

participating in this congress, we have received profound impressions. In our judgment, in it the Vietnamese Communist Party has brilliantly reaffirmed the just and glorious path it has followed for the over half a century of its existence. This is a congress in which the Vietnamese party's unalterable fidelity to the principles of Marxist-Leninism and proletarian internationalism have stood out. This is a congress in which the party's dedication to the tasks of economic development, the selfless serving of the interests of the people and the unfaltering defense of the socialist fatherland has been proven.

All of us who have had the honor to join the Vietnamese communists at this congress will return to our countries with the redoubled conviction that the Vietnamese cause is invincible and that, relying on the wise direction of their leadership party, on the determined support of all of their people, on the indomitable revolutionary alliance with their Indochinese brothers: Kampuchea and Laos, and counting, as an obligation, on the solidarity of the Soviet Union, the socialist community, all the countries and forces of the revolutionary, progressive and international democratic movement, neither anything nor anyone will be capable of turning this heroic people from the path they have chosen.

The colonialists and the militarists could not do so in the past. Despite all their might, the Yankee imperialists could not do it yesterday. Much less so can the domineering and expansionist Chinese make Vietnam yield today.

Here among you, dear comrades, we can see what it is to be a revolutionary and fighting people. Here we can sense what it is to be a politically educated, cohesive and organized people. A people that knows the value of freedom since it has had to fight very hard for several generations to gain the independence and unification of its land. Here among you, we can fully understand how extraordinary President Ho Chi Minh's work, teachings, ideas, his example and immortal legacy are.

During the years of war to save the nation, Vietnam fought and sacrificed itself for all the peoples of the world. Today, in these stormy and difficult times of serious threats to peace through which all mankind is going, the existence of this country, its political policy, its international behavior, its strength continue to be a privilege and a bastion of the world revolutionary, progressive and peace movement.

We are all aware of the danger of war that the current U.S. administration is creating with its armaments, adventuresome and aggressive course of action. Never before has the possibility of a nuclear holocaust been so certain and evident in an absurd attempt to stop the march of history.

Yankee imperialists, today represented by the most ultra-right and warlike far, are trying to achieve military superiority at any cost, blackmail others from positions of strength and reestablish itself throughout the world in its odious role of reactionary and counterrevolutionary policeman.

At a time of profound economic crisis and violent social convulsions, of intolerable worsening of all the injustices and sufferings capitalism and imperialism are unloading on the shoulders of peoples, above all those who make up the vast domain of underdeveloped and neocolonized countries, this policy can lead directly to a catastrophe of worldwide proportions.

In contrast with this warlike policy, the forces of peace and socialism continue to make efforts to maintain a climate of detente and world peace, as is demonstrated by the recent proposal formulated by PCUS [Soviet Communist Party] Secretary General Leonid I. Brezhnev before the 17th Soviet Labor-Union Congress as a continuation of the policy of peace approved at the 26th PCUS Congress.

The Yankee imperialists are stirring up the atmosphere everywhere. In the Middle East they support and confirm Zionist aggressions, threaten the progressive states of the region and block the solution to the central problem of the conflict: the right to self-determination of the heroic Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, its sole, legitimate representative. In Africa they encourage the crimes of the South African racists and their attacks on the neighboring states, especially Angola and Mozambique, try to perpetuate colonialism in Namibia, support apartheid in South Africa and promote new actions and maneuvers against socialist Ethiopia. In Asia we have already seen how, with the complicity of Chinese leaders, the imperialists incite and back the Afghan counterrevolutionaries, rearm Pakistan and oppose the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea.

But above all, this policy is made especially clear here in Southeast Asia, where Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos are the object of constant attacks, sabotage and threats.

It is useless to commit oneself to barring the way to the victorious advance of the peoples of Indochina. In this struggle, dear comrades, our firmest and most unshakable solidarity is with you. We wish, in particular, to express our support of the actions the governments of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos are engaged in to promote the search for a negotiated solution to the conflicts in the region on the basis of just and honorable principles and to in this way contribute to the establishment of a climate of peace and cooperation in it.

Latin America and the Caribbean are also today going through an especially tense time. Under the absolutely immoral and unfounded pretext of combatting so-called "Soviet expansionism," the Yankee government has set itself a course to destroy the revolutions of Nicaragua and Grenada, to crush with blood and fire the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala's struggles for liberation and to intensify even more the escalation of aggression it has been conducting against Cuba. With the cooperation of tyrannical and repressive Latin American regimes, U.S. military interference in El Salvador is already a harsh fact that is costing this rebel and heroic people thousands of lives and untold suffering. Nicaragua is today on the threshold of a large-scale military attack, sponsored, financed and organized by the Yankee imperialist government.

In his speech before the UN Security Council, Comrade Daniel Ortega, coordinator for the Nicaraguan Government Junta, recently confirmed the readiness of Nicaragua, Cuba, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front to find a political solution to the Central American drama, accusing the U.S. Government of making every imaginable effort to implement intervention in Central America.

Our most determined, energetic and active solidarity must today be directed toward our Nicaraguan and Salvadoran brothers. Their struggle is our struggle. Their victory will be the victory of all the peoples in the world.

Cuba, dear comrades, is today still seriously threatened.

The danger of new imperialist attacks has recently grown.

The Yankee leaders are cynically directing reprisals against our country that range from beefing up the economic blockade imposed over 20 years ago to a naval blockade, air attacks on the population and economy of the country and other actions of a military nature. The press campaign of slander and lies has reached unprecedented proportions.

Cuba is for peace. Cuba does not want war. Cuba will back any sincere and constructive initiative that may lead to a negotiated solution to the conflicts. But Cuba has let the Yankee imperialists quite clearly know that it will never submit to blackmail, threats and ultimatums. We prefer to disappear from the face of the earth rather than surrender our principles, our dignity and our revolutionary morale. Like you Vietnamese, we Cubans have learned that "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom."

On the other hand, we are calm and prepared. The enemy can never take us by surprise. And if he decides to attack us, he will learn a new lesson, namely what a people that prefers to die on its feet rather than to live on its knees is like.

We do not underestimate the might of the imperialists. Nor are we unaware of where their predominance and the hatred they feel for those revolutionary processes that neither fear them nor yield nor sell themselves can lead them. But we are not pessimists because of that. Quite the contrary, we are optimists. Regardless of what obstacles intervene today, we are convinced that the future belongs entirely to the peoples, the revolution and socialism.

Not in vain has so much history been written since the extraordinary days of the Great October Revolution. Not in vain has the socialist community succeeded in building the most vigorous and dynamic force of the international scene in our time. Not in vain is socialism waging its battle for peace. Not in vain have so many peoples broken the chains of colonialism and imperialism in recent times. Not in vain did Vietnam write its immortal epic against the Yankee war of destruction. Not in vain is the gigantic power of proletarian internationalism exerting ever greater influence on world events. Not in vain have bonds of friendship and of such great and beautiful solidarity as those that today indissolubly unite Vietnam and Cuba sprung up among the peoples that are liberating themselves.

Dear Vietnamese brothers: The present is a struggle; the future is ours!
Long live the Fifth Vietnamese Communist Party Congress!
Long live proletarian internationalism!
Long live socialism and communism!
May the memory of President Ho Chi Minh live forever!
Fatherland or death!
We shall be victorious!

11,466

CSC: 3010/1338

EDUCATION MINISTRY'S REMARKS AT UJC MEETING

Havana GRAFMA in Spanish 31 Mar 82 p 3

[Speech by Ministry of Education official; date and place not given]

[Text] In commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) and the 21st anniversary of the Jose Marti Pioneers Organization this 4 April, the Ministry of Education places great value on the intense and varied effort expended by these institutions and especially our children and young people's relations with the field of education.

Historically, our ministry has received a great deal of and significant cooperation from both revolutionary organizations. The Young Rebels Association, the UJC's precursor, provided valuable and effective aid to the organization and development of the Literacy Campaign in the early days of the revolutionary victory, when hundreds of young people, filled with enthusiasm and optimism, marched over fields and mountains and wrote some of the most beautiful and moving pages of contemporary history. The Manuel Ascunce Domenech Teachers Brigade was also one of the tasks the UJC successfully carried out. In every Cuban's heart there is a feeling of gratitude and affection for the founders of the brigade and for the thousands of youths who, responding to the different appeals, made possible the development of one of the most important experiments in the field of Cuban teaching: the system of basic secondary schools in rural areas. Educated in the principles of proletarian internationalism, dozens of youths have left for brother countries where, in often precarious situations and even at the price of their own lives, they have held aloft the invincible internationalist banners of the Cuban Revolution.

The firm and determined attitude of our young people, headed by their political leaders, and their mass participation in acts that repudiate the deeds that led to the historic marches of our fighting people speak very highly of the revolutionary awareness and elevated revolutionary spirit that our people and their organizations have been able to transmit to the new generations.

Examples like these, to cite but a few, are the fruits of the effort of all these years. We are harvesting a "firmer, more internationalist and unfaltering" generation than the very generation that inspired and educated us," as our commander in chief aptly put it, and the effort expended by the UJC and the

Jose Marti Pioneers Organization has played a decisive and important role in all this.

This year the holding of the Fourth UJC Congress is on the calendar, an event that will faithfully express Cuban youth's profound revolutionary spirit, their militant intransigence, their patriotic and internationalist aspirations and feelings.

In cordially congratulating them, we express our warmest greetings to both organizations on this anniversary, to their leaders and to each and every one of their members, convinced as we are that the new phase of operations that is to be initiated with the Fourth Congress will mean a forward step to new victories in the field of communist training of the new generations.

Long live the 20th anniversary of the UJC and the 21st of the Jose Marti Pioneers Organization!
Long live the Fourth UJC Congress!

11,466
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RECOMMENDATIONS ON SPARE PARTS MANUFACTURE

Havana GRALMA in Spanish 29 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Joaquin Oramar]

[Text] The First National Conference on Heat Treatment has come to an end at the Vanguardia Socialista Foundry and Forge.

With the approval of agreements and recommendations to improve the quality of the manufacture of spare parts and to encourage their recycling, the First National Conference on Heat Treatment, sponsored by the Metalworkers Union and participated in by over 100 specialists from different agencies, has come to an end.

Summing up the event, Eugenio Mainegra, head of the party Central Committee's Basic Industries Department, announced that conferences on other specialized fields, such as tools, welding, quality control and others, would soon be held.

He also referred to the agreements the delegates had reached and, among other things, urged them to increase the production of spare parts for transportation equipment and kerosene ranges.

Among the agreements reached by the delegates is a request that standards be established that will regulate quality in heat treatment operations and that there be closer cooperation between agencies and enterprises which have heat treatment rooms in order to make better use of such installations.

They also recommended that an investigation by agencies and enterprises be made to find out how many furnaces are idle for the purpose of repairing and utilizing them.

A very important agreement is one that proposes to the appropriate agencies that specialists in heat treatment and metallography participate in the correct selection of materials destined for the production of spare parts.

The delegates visited the Vanguardia Socialista Foundry and Forge, particularly its modern installations for the heat treatment of steel parts. Afterwards, the concluding session of the conference was held there, during which the

papers presented by Jorge Urquijo of the Villa Clara Mechanical Plant on the recycling of knives from storage centers and by Esteban Bryce of the Metallurgical Research Center on the impact of heat treatment on welding were rewarded.

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CLOSER CEP MONITORING OF WHOLESALE, RETAIL PRICES

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 31 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by Orlando Gomez]

[Text] The chief task of workers on the State Committee for Prices (CEP) and other agencies having to do with prices in the country for the current 5-year period is the inspection and control of wholesale and retail prices, said Humberto Perez, vice president of the Council of Ministers and alternate member of the Politburo, yesterday when making the closing statements at the central agency's 1981 balance-sheet meeting.

The main report presented by the CEP in the JUCEPLAN [Central Planning Board] theater was preceded by a discussion among all its workers which culminated in a special session of its Board of Directors.

During the balance-sheet meeting, the main report was not debated; instead, several talks were given by comrades who touched on the main points covered in the document and which played up the deficiencies in it and the measures to be adopted to overcome them.

For CEP workers 1981 was a year of special effort. In it reforms on wholesale prices, construction, storage, and the technical and production services as well as retail prices were applied, which required hard work on the part of the committee. These measures meant the almost complete modification of the country's price system, paving the way for new phases of operation in this agency and others involved in price problems as well as creating more demands and responsibility.

The report notes that the job done by the CEP in 1981 was in general positive with the exception of the errors committed in the conception and application of the new restaurant prices and the categorization of the restaurants. As we know, this measure was revoked by decision of the Politburo and the Council of Ministers Executive Committee due to its shortcomings.

The following fundamental errors were conspicuous on the basis of the analysis made by this chief state agency of the application of prices in the restaurant industry:

Generalized application of prices up to a given category, maintaining the same price in lower categories for the same item. This meant that a price was set for the item (a dish, for example) without considering the quality of the service that should have been offered in terms of the price.

Lack of correspondence between the price increase percentages announced in the press per restaurant category and how the customers really rate the restaurants.

Failure to consider the existence of different prices for the same dish in some provinces, which produced different results from those announced.

Excessive price increases for some popular consumption items, including worker and student lunchrooms.

Incorrect use of price lists in restaurants, among other reasons, as a result of insufficient orientation, a lack of seminars and controls for their proper use.

Failure to propose timely postponement of the application of the new prices in not taking into account the evaluation of the results of the categorization of restaurant services within the time anticipated, which produced a domineering effect in the application of these new prices.

As the agency's report self-critically asserts: "There was a lack of quality and thoroughness in the execution of the assignment and therefore elements that would have enabled us to predict the consequences deriving from application of the same were not considered."

At the meeting it was reported that, with regard to problems involving future restaurant prices, a new proposal was being drafted in accordance with the indications of the national commission created for that purpose which will enable them to come up with a suitable response without curtailing efforts or sacrifices to eliminate the errors that have been committed and the situation created about restaurant prices.

Roberto Prado, second secretary of the National Public Administration Labor Union, presented the 10th WFTU Certificate to the CERP workers and confirmed their status as worthy recipients of the Moncada Heroes Banner.

Among the speakers at the meeting, Victor Vesipov, chief Soviet adviser to the CERP, in the name of all the socialist technicians who serve as technical advisers to the agency, expressed the gratitude of all of them for [having had the opportunity] to participate in the edification of socialism in our country along with Cuban workers.

In making the closing remarks, Humberto Perez noted that many of the complex and difficult tasks performed by the committee last year, especially those pertaining to wholesale price reforms and others worked out by its workers in 1961, were satisfactorily and even successfully accomplished.

He also pointed out the lack of thoroughness as a reason behind the serious errors committed by the committee as concerns restaurant price reform. He then expressed his confidence, and that of the party and the government, that this would not happen again.

The president of the JUCEPLAN signaled the specification and improvement of all the price reforms effected to date, in each case making the necessary adjustment, as the second priority of the CEP and the country's other price-control agencies during the current 5-year period.

As a third priority in the committee's work on prices, the alternate member of the Politburo proposed that the conditions be created for the establishment of an authentic price system, to which end they would have to do a detailed cost analysis that would serve as a basis for the system.

CEP acting Minister President Catalina Rubier also chaired this meeting.

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ILLEGALITIES DISCOVERED IN FARMERS' FREE MARKET

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 17 Mar 82 pp 4-5

[Article by Lazaro Barredo Medina]

[Text] The free market was designed for the farmers, not for those whom the people now call the *Bandidos de Rio Frio*. Unfortunately, certain irregularities in the organization and supervision of these markets have made it possible for these "bandits" to gain control of a large share of the products available and, given the demand for the goods, have put exorbitant prices on them in their thirst for profit. This has resulted in a distortion of the noble, hard-working image of farmers among many workers.

The Rio Frio bandit is nothing more than a middleman who takes advantage of any opportunity to establish his *bisne*, at the expense of the workers and farmers themselves.

This element of the population, undeniably part of the social scum, does not work the land. These men do not break their backs to supply food for society through their shipments for collection, offering their surplus freely on the market at reasonable prices.

As a general rule, these bandits bleed the farmers. They are the result of outrageous greed, think only of money and unfortunately, drag a few heedless souls down this reprehensible path with them.

A surprise inspection on 21 February at the Free Farmers' Market in La Palma, the capital of Arroyo Naranjo, by domestic trade inspectors and economic police officers partially revealed a number of these manifestations.

Watchword

The inspectors and PNR [National Revolutionary Police] officers arrived at the market during the rush hour: 8:00 in the morning. The entire square was jammed. In one spot, chickens were being sold for 15 pesos; in another, garlic for a peso. Pork meat was going for 3.50 and here and there, the different hawkers could be heard.

The entry of the officials immediately gave rise to whispering among the vendors: *Pitirre en el alambre*. It was their watchword.

There was immediate confusion as nearly everyone ran to the market office to update or legalize his stay, while many helpers took to their heels.

The inspectors occupied the sales booths and began to inspect documents (commercial certification, collection authorization and from ANAP [National Association of Small Farmers] and the payment of taxes), while people who had come to make purchases expressed support for what the government officials were doing.

The inspection yielded immediate results.

One of the first cases found had falsified documents. The commercial authorization had expired on 30 January and its owners had changed the date to an incredible 30 February 1982.

There were others with false documents and who stated that they were from Holguin Province. Since 28 January, they had been selling bananas amounting to a daily average of between 500 and 1,500 pounds.

Some urban producers were selling chickens, frequently handling 70 to 80 on a regular basis. When asked where he was from, one of them said with tremendous ingenuousness that he had bought eggs from the butchershops (which are not fertile) and then hatched them (this gentlemen has apparently made a significant contribution to the genetics of birds that could revolutionize the world).

Upon verifying the origin of the fowl, the officers learned that the citizens had incubators at home, feed, fertile eggs and other related articles.

One of the vendors, it was learned, is a kitchen helper at the Veterinary Institute and claimed that they gave him honey there, along with part of the feed, and so on.

Large quantities of rice were being sold. Some bags had stamps showing that they were of the type distributed by the government. The explanations given by those involved were all contradictory.

There were special cases among those selling pork, as in the case of one man from Cienfuegos who came to La Palma two or three times a week with a load of 45 to 60 hogs on every trip. The vast majority of those selling swine had no veterinary certificates or had altered them. One of them was predated by 4 days and an analysis of the animals butchered showed that the rest had been shipped over 30 days previously.

One person selling homemade sausages from Holguin and others offering peeled fruit, cheese and other products had no health card or had unstamped health cards (presumably fake).

Another violation detected was the participation of citizens (although many went to see the officers and inspectors) in sales without any authorization.

It should be pointed out that although no action was taken against them, most of the rest of the vendors had more products than they had declared. There were even cases in which the stand had a certain quantity of goods and as they ran out, more products were brought from nearby houses, where "miniwarehouses" had been set up, another violation.

Finally, a number of vendors were observed with rolls of coins and wrapping paper, ready for the sale of products. They said they had been purchased at the San Nicolas de Bari, Guines and Melena del Sur markets, denoting the infiltration of products which only government entities have.

The result of the inspection led to the prosecution of 13 denunciations. Large quantities of products were seized and over 5,000 pesos confiscated.

Operation 'Pitirre en el Alambre'

Based on the results of the surprise inspection at the La Palma Farmers' Free Market, it was decided to plan another inspection for all such facilities in Havana City. The watchword of the Bandidos de Rio Frio served to provide a name for this broad movement, which involved the participation of some 500 inspectors, domestic trade workers and members of the PNR. On Sunday, 28 February, the people of Havana witnessed Operation "Pitirre en el Alambre".

Once again, no action was taken against the honest farmers, but rather, against the so-called middlemen violating the law, those profiting at the expense of working people.

At each of the 12 free markets in our capital, the Operation turned into a resounding revolutionary manifestation. We heard hundreds of people express their opinions, all in favor of the measure.

What is more, at nearly all spots where goods were confiscated, the products were sold there at special prices (two, three or four times lower). The spontaneous reaction of the people was to cry "Long live the Revolution" or "Long live Fidel!"

The problems seen at the La Palma market were found in nearly all these places.

Vendors without authorization were transporting goods between provinces and citizens were selling surpluses over and above what had been declared to the collection agency. There were irregularities in transport and transport without authorization, alterations, falsifications complete lack of and expired documents, failure to provide veterinary certificates and a divergence between products offered by plot owners and the size of their plots.

In addition, other illegal activities were discovered (doubly illegal because of the marketing of these articles and their sale on free farmers' markets), such as the sale of auto parts, beer, ground coffee, 90-proof alcohol, sugar, cans of sardines, and other products.

In order to give an idea of the participation of the so-called middlemen in the 12 markets in the capital, 329 vendors were present this Sunday. Some 85 percent of them were private producers (not belonging to cooperatives of any type) and urban plot owners, the vast majority of which were middlemen.

Several examples illustrate the different types of fraudulent dealings.

At four of the markets, chickens from state farms were being sold.

At another market, one vendor had an authorization from the administration of a mining enterprise which gave him rice (he was selling it) and sugar in exchange for beans.

One private individual was selling a kind of bean apparently imported by the government and taken off the market because of excessive spraying.

In the garage of one Arroyo Naranjo citizen was a private store of bananas and caladium from the interior in significant quantities (nearly 50,000 bananas).

These products were sent to one of the vendors arrested last Sunday at the La Palma market (he was living in Free Havana). Nevertheless, products from Holguin continued to arrive at his home.

The owner of the home, who in order to justify himself immediately brought up his revolutionary record, was receiving compensation.

Once again, the inadequate and negligent administration of these markets was shown. Four administrators were arrested and one of them, from the Virgen del Camino market, told the watchman to tell the vendors arriving with pork meat that an inspection was expected, which made it impossible to take action against those elements, who are generally important middlemen.

Certain products that are part of the commitment of every farmer are not being sold to the people at regulated prices. Rather, they are going to the free market and sold at excessive, extortionary prices. Only what is produced beyond the commitment is to be sold at such markets.

However, it is necessary to point out that the operation was not carried out in order to punish vendors for their prices. Half of those involved had their documents in order and made their products available normally. The action was fundamentally aimed at middlemen and violators of laws.

Operation "Pitirre en el Alambre" resulted in the arrest of 167 persons (158 men and 9 women), who will have to go before the people's courts to answer for the illegality of their acts. Large quantities of products were seized and immediately offered to the people and over 40,000 pesos were confiscated.

The National Revolutionary Police began an in-depth investigation into many of the irregularities and several of the home searches yielded positive results.

It is interesting to note that the market where the most violations occurred was precisely La Palma (despite the inspection of the previous Sunday), which shows the degree of impunity enjoyed by the vendors.

Reasons

Many of the citizens questioned wondered why the government allowed such things to occur. Others complained that the government did not take action on prices and still another group condemned the abusive way in which the people were taken advantage of for the profit of others.

All agreed that the establishment of the markets has helped provide another alternative for the consumer and meet food needs, which was shown by the fact that despite the high prices, there were always many buyers.

These inspections have shown that many of the standards set up to permit control and supervision are not obeyed and there are obvious cases of neglect resulting in the free action of these profit-seeking elements.

First of all, there can be no question that government representation at the markets is weak (one administrator and two employees to control hundreds of vendors as a general rule, low wages and no incentives) and there is a lack of organization. There is no proper inspection of documents before sales begin, no schedule for receiving applications for stands, and so on.

It is also inconceivable that the vendor earning the least on Sundays takes in at least 500 pesos and yet, all he pays in taxes is the insignificant sum of 15 pesos a year.

In addition, the tax is excessively low. A vendor earning 3,000 pesos that day paid only 2 pesos in taxes for a space at the market.

It is also necessary to emphasize that our own mechanisms result in violations, illegal dealings and the falsification of documents.

How is it possible that most of the collection enterprises give permits for marketing for 30 days and not on a day-to-day basis, as should be the case?

Why are the certificates of public health and veterinary medicine not clear and above all, adequately controlled?

How is it possible that at the markets, a large number of vendors come from several provinces and that none would have the proper authorization of the provincial people's government organ for transporting large quantities of products from one territory to another and were not asked for it either?

Regarding prices, it is not up to the government to regulate them. Even those put on confiscated products are not permanent. Prices are set in relations between sellers and buyers.

Let us recall a few words of Pepe Ramirez, alternate member of the Politburo of the party and president of ANAP, when he appealed to every farmer, "even if you should have an opportunity to sell at prices higher than those set by the government, not to let yourself be ruled by the selfishness of making a lot of money with a few products. In other words, the farmer can distinguish himself as the comrade of the worker, the doctor, the teacher, the working people, through his attitude as a real ally of the people and not as an exploiter like the capitalists and the so-called middlemen."

Operation Pitirre en el Alambre shows that these words are truer than ever today.

11,464

CSO: 3010/1269

BRIEFS

RAUL TO BAYAMO--Raul Castro, second secretary of Cuba's Communist Party Central Committee and first vice president of the Councils of State and Ministers, paid a visit to Bayamo on Wednesday. There he expressed interest in preparations to celebrate 26 July throughout Granma Province, the status of the sugarcane crop, drought related problems, and other subjects. During his tour of projects which are being developed in Bayamo, Raul Castro was able to ascertain the desire of the workers to conclude these projects before the anniversary of the raid on the Moncada Barracks. He stressed the significance of these projects and congratulated the workers for their efforts; he also emphasized the need to reforest Sierra Maestra. Roberto Damian Alfonso, alternate member of the Central Committee and first party secretary in Granma Province, headed Raul Castro's entourage of provincial leaders. [Text]
[FL221230 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT 22 Apr 82]

CSO: 3010/1430

COMMUNISTS, LEFTIST GROUPS REACH AGREEMENT ON ELECTIONS

Santo Domingo LISTIN DIARIO in Spanish 29 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Mirtilio Feliz Pena: "Communists Reach Agreement"]

[Text] The Dominican Communist Party [PCD], the Movement for Socialism [MPS] and the Movement for Socialist Unity yesterday reached an agreement to participate with joint candidates in the 16 May elections.

Through this agreement, Dr Narciso Isa Conde was chosen as a candidate for the presidency of the republic and Fidelio Despradel for the vice presidency.

The nomination of these candidates was made known yesterday during an assembly of the three organizations at the headquarters of the defunct newspaper, LA VOZ DEL PUEBLO [THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE], on San Juan de la Maguana Street, in the Villas Agricolas section, in northern Santo Domingo. The historian Mr Tulio H Arvelo, chosen as a candidate for the vice presidency of the republic by a convention of the PCD, relinquished his candidacy to open the way for concluding the agreement of what is called the "socialist unity" and was then selected by the socialist block as a candidate for senator for the National District. This position had been without a specific nomination by suggestion of the PCD at its convention in the National District.

Roberto Duverge, selected by the Movement for Socialism to be its second representative in the National District, also relinquished his nomination, placing his candidacy at the disposal of the socialist block to make the agreement feasible.

The socialists' unitary agreement grants 22 representatives to the PCD, including the first to the engineer Jose Israel Cuello, originally nominated to this numerical position by the PCD. The second representative corresponded to Roberto Duverge, of the Movement for Socialism (MPS).

The Movement for Socialist Unity, according to the agreement, has been granted the third and sixth representatives for the National District. Also, the MPS has been awarded seven representatives.

During the assembly, speeches were made by senatorial candidate Arvelo of the Movement for Socialist Unity, presidential candidate Isa Conde and vice presidential candidate Despradel.

Isa Conde said that, "Today we are attending this unique event, full of hope, and with new determination to continue the fight."

He added, "Today is the culmination of our very important effort to achieve unity on a foundation of socialist programs and an electoral alliance, such as joint candidates on all levels."

Isa Conde pointed out that with the MPS and the Movement for Socialist Unity, the PCD has progressed in defining meaningful common grounds, but enough to specify an agreement on unity of programs and of joint electoral participation.

"The efforts in this regard," he explained, "have not been dismissed, nor will they be decisively abandoned, although existing policy and ideological differences and the need to organize definite electoral options, the candidates for which we have to register no later than next Tuesday, have shaped blocks or alliances for us."

Isa Conde believed that the developing discussion and the dynamics of the process could later on open the possibility for other levels of unity.

Despradel said that the agreement that the PCD, the MPS and the Movement for Socialist Unity have reached, "and the political action that will stem from these organizations are going to exercise a decisive influence in the future of the struggle of the workers, the peasants and other exploited persons, and that, if we persist in those struggles and we remain firm under the present situation that our country and the world are living through, the seeds that we are planting will be germinating through the struggle of the exploited."

Isa Conde indicated that his nomination to the vice presidency of the republic by the socialist block "which honors me, constitutes a new step in my revolutionary commitment."

9545

CSO: 3010/1292

BISHOPS' CONFERENCE URGES ORDER IN ELECTIONS

Santo Domingo LISTIN DIARIO in Spanish 29 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by Disraeli Guillen: "Bishops Advocate Community Spirit During Elections"]

[Text] The Conference of the Dominican Episcopate yesterday advocated that this final portion of the electoral campaign be an example of good sense, community spirit, mutual respect and dignity.

Through a pastoral message signed by all the bishops in the country and read in all the churches at Sunday mass, they ask that the "gathering at the polls and the voting be a model of responsibility and order on the day of the elections."

Also, they ask that the counting and publication of votes--partial and total--do not leave room for the slightest doubt about the honesty of the process at this final, decisive stage.

"That the result of the elections be disclosed without any delay, as soon as possible, and that it be accepted by all with greatness of spirit. Without provocative excesses by the winners and without false accusations or pettiness and without malice from the rest," the pastoral message points out.

And it adds that "once the new government is established, all the force of the nation, without discrimination of any kind, mobilize all their human and natural resources at the service of all Dominicans."

The message also advocates that "those who assume power in the next government administration demonstrate a lofty example on removing, for political reasons, from their positions those persons who are carrying out their duties seriously and competently."

Citing Saint Peter, the bishops' document states: "Let each one place the gift he has received at the service of others, as good administrators of the many-faceted grace of God."

The pastoral message, titled "Message on the Coming Election," based on the Pastoral Constitution of the Second Vatican Council on the church in the modern world, emphasizes a fundamental principle: "The mission that Christ entrusted to his church is not political, economic or social in nature."

And the message continues that "specifically from the church's religious mission stem duties, enlightenment and energy that can serve to establish and consolidate the human community according to divine law."

The bishops' message states that on addressing themselves to all the faithful and in general to all men of good will, "it is not for strictly political reasons or motives," but to comply with "exclusively our duty and responsibility as ministers."

The message is signed by Cardinal Octavio A. Beras, ad vitam honorary president of the Conference of the Dominican Episcopate; Nicolas de Jesus Lopez, Metropolitan Archbishop of Santo Domingo; Hugo E. Polanco Brito, Bishop of Nuestra Senora de la Altagracia, president of the Conference of the Dominican Episcopate and Tomas F. Reilly, president of the Episcopal Commission on Ecumenism.

Other signers are Juan F. Pepen, Titular Bishop, Auxiliary of the Archbishop of Santo Domingo; Roque Adames, Bishop of Santiago de los Caballeros; Juan Antonio Flores, Bishop of La Vega; Priamo Tejada, Titular Bishop, Auxiliary of the Archbishop of Santo Domingo; Reynaldo O. Connors, Bishop of San Juan de la Maguana; Fabio Rivas, Bishop of Barahona; Jesus Maria de Jesus Moya, Auxiliary of the bishop of Santiago and Tomas Abreu, Bishop of Mao-Montecristi.

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CSO: 3010/1292

DAILY URGES COMPLIANCE WITH IMF RECOMMENDATIONS

Santo Domingo LISTIN DIARIO in Spanish 29 Mar 82 p 6

[Editorial: "Let Us Not Lose Time"]

[Text] The continual depreciation of the Dominican peso, which has already brought a decline in industrial activity, a drop in imports, a scarcity of very necessary products, such as medicine and price rises, can have even more serious consequences.

We have to make a strong and sustained effort to control this decline and to start a recuperation.

If we do not do this, not much time will pass before we witness chaos in the Dominican economy, with political repercussions.

A way out of this situation is quite possible, if strong appropriate and austere measures are taken.

A recent session of the IMF informed Dominican monetary authorities that if the Central Bank reduced its "nonessential" issues of money to 130,000,000 pesos, the fund could provide right away a loan that was adequate for immediately paying all the overdue letters of credit.

This measure, besides making it easier to issue new letters of credit, would eliminate interest payments for these delays, which are estimated to be near \$50,000,000 this year.

The IMF credit would pay interest, but it would be at a substantially higher rate.

But, moreover, the IMF would provide other assistance that could reach \$600,000,000 in 3 years.

The time period would be longer than that for a commercial loan.

The fund also believes that the Central Bank should increase interest rates.

But the rates in force are nominal ones. Real interest rates, collected through set methods, are at the present time much higher in this country than what the fund believes advisable. There is also a system of non-bank rates that are much higher.

The Dominican Republic has received many loans that it has not been able to use because it lacks compensatory funds.

The fund's support will allow obtaining compensatory funds.

There are many measures that the government can take to strengthen the currency, and to prevent the country's falling into financial chaos.

The politicians are trying to make the country believe that serious matters cannot be spoken of in the frenzy of an electoral campaign.

The politicians are completely mistaken.

The country is waiting for its most critical national economic problem to be set forth right now before public opinion and for a national agreement to be achieved shortly.

Later on may be too late.

9445

CSO: 3010/1292

BRIEFS

HAITIANS DETAINED--Thirty Haitians were detained by the national police in the town of Guayubin in view of reports that 25 guerrillas who participated in the thwarted invasion of Tortuga Island would have entered Dominican territory. Also, the police has set up check posts in Guayubin and Villa Vasquez, according to the reports. Women were among the detained Haitians. Yesterday the Haitians were at the detachment in Villa Vasquez. An official of the police stationed in Villa Basquez said that the Haitians have been detained because an investigation is being carried out to find out if they crossed the border after participating in the landing on Tortuga Island 2 months ago. Meanwhile, police were inspecting the vehicles and persons who were entering or leaving Villa Vasquez. [Text] [Santo Domingo LISTIN DIARIO in Spanish 22 Mar 82 p 12] 9545

CSO: 3010/1292

DUARTE INTERVIEWED BY LISBON NEWSPAPER

PM230921 Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 3 Apr 82 pp 1-2

[Interview with El Salvador President Duarte by Jose Judice in San Salvador: "I Do not Believe in Negotiations With Weapons on Table"--date of interview now specified]

[Excerpt] EXPRESSO: How do you interpret the defeat of the Christian Democratic Party [PDC]?

Napoleon Duarte: I beg your pardon, but you are quite mistaken. The PDC triumphed with 42 percent of the poll. The fact is that it is a victory of the people in favor of the PDC. But the proportional representation system makes possible a distribution of deputies in the Legislative and Constituent Assembly which protests and assists the minorities.

EXPRESSO: So do you believe that you were disadvantaged?

Napoleon Duarte: Obviously so, because of this mechanism, and I believe that the people will also believe this, because they will not understand the proportional representation system. But it is good because it protects the minorities and ensures that there is no domineering by the majority.

EXPRESSO: Even in the case of violent minorities?

Napoleon Duarte: Even when they are violent, because it enables them to change from a stance of physical violence to a stance of verbal violence. And this is a more important achievement than any fine words.

EXPRESSO: Do you believe that the extreme right will be transformed if it forms a government?

Napoleon Duarte: No, I believe that, despite everything, they will remain people who practice violence, because there is no doubt that our government has touched the very basis of the right's power structure, and they are determined to recover it and to destroy the social reforms we have effected. They will regress in this field and will provoke confrontations in backtracking of the reforms. But we will do our utmost to prevent backtracking.

EXPRESS: How is that possible?

Napoleon Duarte: Remember that this is done not only by the number of votes in an assembly but also by the people's strength, and the majority of the people are in agreement with the reforms.

EXPRESSO: How is it possible to prevent the right from doing what it pleases if it has a majority in the assembly?

Napoleon Duarte: You are forgetting the social phenomenon and only remembering the electoral phenomenon. Democracy is not parliament alone. You must realize that backtracking on the reforms, even if they can do it, means earning the condemnation of thousands and thousands of people throughout the country. Remember the peasants who are involved in the agrarian reform. Returning that land to the former landowners would mean total frustration for half a million Salvadorans, who will not understand the mechanism which leads a deputy to vote for their land to be taken from them. It will not be easy.

EXPRESSO: Has there already been any invitation from the rightwing parties to talks with the PDC to form a government?

Napoleon Duarte: No.

EXPRESSO: But would you agree to form a government with one of the rightwing parties?

Napoleon Duarte: I cannot answer you, because the essential point is that the PDC has a government program and could negotiate some points of that program, but it cannot negotiate the program's essential idea.

EXPRESSO: And what is essential?

Napoleon Duarte: It is the reforms and democracy. We cannot compromise with totalitarianism. Our plan was and remains that of guiding the country from dictatorship to democracy. We have taken the first step. But further steps must be taken. The violence must be reduced, and this is only possible in a democratic atmosphere, never in an atmosphere of dictatorship.

EXPRESSO: But the Republican Nationalist Alliance has announced on several occasions that it wishes to end reforms.....

Napoleon Duarte: They wish to do so, but I do not know whether they will be able to do so. That will depend considerably on the effort we are able to make.

EXPRESSO: What is your forecast of what will happen?

EXPRESSO: And what do you believe will be the Americans' attitude to a government of the extreme rightwing parties? The U.S. ambassador does not rule out the possibility of working with any government, provided that it has a moderate policy.

Napoleon Duarte: You must understand what the ambassador said. The ambassador did not say that he would support an extreme rightwing government. They will

be prepared to give support if the El Salvador Government is a moderate government and implements the social reforms. No further conclusions can be drawn.

EXPRESSO: And what about the military situation? What is the chance now of peace negotiations with the guerrillas and with the exiles?

Napoleon Duarte: I have always said that I do not believe in negotiations with submachineguns on the table. There can be no negotiation against the people or behind the people's backs. Power cannot be shared out, because power comes from the people's will. There is no possibility of negotiating under blackmail. I have said that the problems cannot be resolved if power is not [as published] handed over to the left. But I have also said that I am fully prepared to engage in dialogue and to find a formula, provided that everybody accepts the rules of the democratic game. This means sitting down at a table to discuss on the basis of respect for everybody and respect for the people, accepting democracy and laying down weapons.

EXPRESSO: What is the difference between this stance of yours and that of the extreme right?

Napoleon Duarte: This is a moderate stance in which I believe and for which I am struggling. But I do not belong to the extreme right, and so I cannot tell you what the extreme right's viewpoint is. I can tell you what mine is.

I will struggle for it in every way. Power does not lie in parliament alone. It also lies in the social sphere. The people elected the PDC as the largest party, and this cannot be disregarded. We are the most important force in the country, and it must not be forgotten that the people want Napoleon Duarte to be president. If there are those who forget this, that is their problem.

EXPRESSO: But does Napoleon Duarte wish to be president?

Napoleon Duarte: No, Napoleon Duarte wishes to serve his country. If it falls to me to be here in the presidential palace, I will be here. If it falls to me to be in the public square, I will be there.

EXPRESSO: What is this election's importance for Central America?

Napoleon Duarte: I believe that it is fabulous. It is an example which has strengthened a democratic solution for Central America and which forces the countries which do not wish to find a path of justice and freedom for their peoples to consider this. It forces Nicaragua and Guatemala to consider an electoral solution. Although thousands of things can happen, I hope that this has been a contribution to the democratic strengthening of Central America. El Salvador will determine and is determining its own destiny. It has voted for this. Nothing can interfere in the country's internal decision.

EXPRESSO: Not even U.S. wishes?

Napoleon Duarte: Not even U.S. wishes can interfere in the Salvadoran people's will. This is a free sovereign society. Nothing can be done against the people's decision.

EXPRESSO: But has not the people's will been systematically disregarded in Central America and in Latin America?

Napoleon Duarte: That is the difference between a totalitarian state and a democratic state. You are talking to me about the past, about a totalitarian state in which victories and representation for all political sectors in this country were not recognized. But this time the people's wishes will be accepted.

EXPRESSO: Why are you so sure of that?

Napoleon Duarte: Because I am here in the presidency and I keep my word.

EXPRESSO: And how long will you remain president?

Napoleon Duarte: Until the Constituent Assembly decides otherwise.

EXPRESSO: And are there prospects of your remaining president?

Napoleon Duarte: I do not know.

EXPRESSO: Do you believe that now, after the election, it will be easier to accept the Franco-Mexican declaration?

Napoleon Duarte: The statements by Mr Mitterrand and Mr Portillo, despite all the good will they may have, imply interference in the sense of imposing negotiations with submachineguns on the table. That is not acceptable.

EXPRESSO: You are accused of being an accomplice in the violation of human rights and repression in El Salvador. Do you accept these accusations?

Napoleon Duarte: These accusations are the products of distorted, extreme leftwing propaganda. It was being said that children were being killed and their hearts were being eaten. That is what the left was saying against me. Is it true? I believe that it is impossible for such an aberration to exist. That is the work of the extreme left: to lie, to deceive, to tell half-truths and some truths. Because the truth serves them to justify their lies. Of course there are real instances of violation of human rights, and these are used to justify all the lies they tell.

EXPRESSO: But when it is asserted that there have been 30,000 victims of the repression....

Napoleon Duarte: Ask those who assert it to see if they can prove those figures. There is a large number of dead, of course, but not on the scale which has been presented. That is a lie aimed at giving the civilized world a picture of disaster.

The situation in this respect has been improving over the last 2 years. That was our task. Do you believe that a man who has struggled all his life against abuses, to control abuses, can be opposed to human rights?

CSO: 3010/1432

ARMY CLAIMS ITS REPORTS TRUTHFUL, OBJECTIVE

PA241325 Guatemala City Cadena de Emisoras Unidas in Spanish 0500 GMT 24 Apr 82

[Text] The army's reports are truthful and part of the policy of safeguarding public peace. It is not appropriate to believe false information about actions as reported to fight subversive bands.

The Guatemalan Army truthfully informs the people and the international public about the various actions that are carried out to safeguard peace and public security.

Guatemalan newsmen and foreign journalists have been given all the facilities to move around and secure reliable information about military actions carried out to protect the citizens in rural and urban areas who are the victims of subversive bands that want to intimidate the people with terrorist actions.

As the journalists, who have visited rural areas affected by subversive violence, have been able to witness, the extremists act against humble people who refuse to cooperate with criminal and antipatriotic activities.

The army's culture and public relations department truthfully reports on the combat actions against subversion. For this reason, it is not appropriate to spread the rumors initiated by biased persons, who, in addition to contributing to discrediting the country before the eyes of the world, also directly contribute to the campaign the subversives carry out through anonymous leaflets and unfounded rumors to weaken democratic institutions and, especially, to set the people and the army against each other.

In the country's interior, it has been emphasized, the people and the armed institution are united in fighting the subversive bands and working on the necessary national reconstruction following the campaign of terrorism of the subversive extremist groups during the past few months.

CSO: 3010/1434

BRIEFS

FRIENDLY U.S. RELATIONS--Today, Francisco Luis Gordillo, government junta member, commented on the resumption of U.S. military aid to Guatemala. [Begin Gordillo recording] It is encouraging because the truth is that if the country is going to prosper, create employment and bring progress, the country must live in peace. We need help in order to retaliate against subversion, which does not originate from sources within Guatemala. On the contrary, this subversion is the result of interference in our domestic affairs by extracontinental interests. Therefore any aid that will enable Guatemala to recover peace, prosperity and progress will be welcomed [end Gordillo recording] The administration believes that relations with the Reagan administration have improved to the point that Guatemala can count on U.S. military aid, said Interior Minister Horacio Maldonado Schaad. [Begin Schaad recording] Now we have a close friendship with the U.S. ambassador to Guatemala [words indistinct] and he has said that the United States has the greatest intentions of cooperating with Guatemala. Furthermore we are drafting a program to implement this aid and it is very probable that we may also have [words indistinct] to help us implement this program. [End Schaad recording] [Text] [PA240104 Guatemala City Radio-Television Guatemala in Spanish 0400 GMT 24 Apr 82]

ASYLUM TO PALOMO--According to information received through dispatches from Brazilia, in which statements by Brazilian Foreign Ministry spokesmen are quoted, the Brazilian Government yesterday granted diplomatic asylum to former Agriculture Minister Francisco Bobadilla Palomo. According to the international dispatches, the Brazilian Embassy in Guatemala began negotiations with General Rios Montt's government for a safe-conduct so that Bobadilla Palomo may travel to Brazil. Although Gen Efraim Rios Montt, president of the military government junta, has, on several occasions, said that he wants the press to report only the truth and not to spread rumors, Foreign Minister Alfonso Alonso Lima yesterday said he had no official information on Bobadilla Palomo's asylum. If Gen Rios Montt's government officials do not say the truth, it will become more difficult for the members of the press to keep the people informed on the occurrences in the country. [Text] [PA231735 Guatemala City Radio Nuevo Mundo Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 21 Apr 82]

SUPPORT FOR ARGENTINA--The Guatemalan Government does not rule out the possibility of giving Argentina military help in its conflict with the United Kingdom for the Malvinas Islands. This was said today by a member of the military junta, Francisco Gordillo Martinez, following Foreign Minister Alfonso Alonso Lima's statement that Argentina can count on moral aid from Guatemala.

[Begin recording] [Francisco Gordillo] These are statements that have to be clarified so as to have one point of view. We want and we are sure we can support Argentina legally and politically. Military support would be an extreme. At this time we are very busy solving our own situation, but we are giving Argentina moral support--the support that this country deserves for enforcing the Monroe Doctrine which states America for the Americans. [Sentence as heard] [Question by unidentified person] Do you rule out the possibility of military aid to Argentina in case of an emergency? [Answer] It would depend on the situation because we have international treaties and if we are asked we would oblige. [End recording] Guatemala maintains its territorial claim over Belize but at this time no new actions will be taken, Colonel Gordillo Martinez said. [Begin recording] For the time being the Belize case is at an impasse. Guatemala has never recognized the status that Belize has today and this is a matter for calm analysis and positive decisions in the future. [End recording] [Text] [PA241746 Guatemala City Radio-Television Guatemala 0400 GMT 23 Apr 82]

TAIWAN TRADE, TECHNOLOGY SOUGHT--Guatemalan Commerce Minister Julio Matheu said that an official mission, including some Guatemalans of Chinese extraction will visit Taiwan shortly seeking trade and new technology. (Juan Jose Urrueda), deputy for the Revolutionary Party Bloc and representative of business sectors will head the delegation. (Urrueda) will be accompanied by (Walter Quinones), (Andres Pedano), (David Chan), (Carlos Biteldoff), (Juan Chan), (Pedro Yan) and (Francisco Chan). The Taiwan Government invited our country to send a delegation to learn the new technologies used there as well as to study possibilities for marketing Guatemalan products. [Text] [PA261638 Guatemala City Cadena de Emisoras Unidas in Spanish 0050 GMT 23 Apr 82]

CSO: 3010/1434

PRESIDENT REITERATES SUPPORT OF ARGENTINA

PA270057 Paris AFP in Spanish 2335 GMT 26 Apr 82

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 26 Apr (AFP)--In Tegucigalpa today, Honduran President Roberto Suazo Cordova reiterated this country's support for Argentina's claims to the Malvinas Islands. The crisis was heightened yesterday with Great Britain's incursion into and military occupation of the South Georgia Islands, in the southernmost part of the American hemisphere.

Meanwhile, the British Embassy in this capital issued a communique today, stating that "in pursuing our inherent right to self-defense under article 51 of the UN Charter, British helicopters faced a hostile Argentine submarine yesterday in the vicinity of South Georgia."

In his statement, President Suazo notes that "Honduras has never doubted the legitimacy of Argentina's rights to the Malvinas Islands and therefore has repeatedly voiced its decided support for Argentina's just claims, both at international forums and bilaterally."

In the document containing the president's statement, the Honduran Government advocates a peaceful solution to the conflict, though without undermining Argentine sovereignty, to "prevent a total confrontation with the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, which would have unforeseeable consequences for Latin America."

For its part, the British Embassy in Tegucigalpa, in justifying yesterday's military action, indicated that "the Argentine Government was advised 2 days ago that any attempt to approach by Argentine warships--including submarines, navy vessels and military aircraft--that threatened the British forces' mission in the South Atlantic would meet appropriate resistance."

Lastly, it accused the Argentine Government of "unfounded aggression" in its military occupation of the Malvinas and asserted that "the British Government will not use more force than necessary to insure the Argentines' withdrawal from the Falkland Islands (Malvinas)."

CSO: 3010/1435

PAZ BARNICA ADDRESSES OAS

PA272240 Tegucigalpa Domestic Service in Spanish 1130 GMT 27 Apr 82

[Speech by Honduran Foreign Secretary Edgardo Paz Barnica at the special OAS Consultative meeting in Washington on 26 April--recorded]

[Text] Mr secretary general:

The Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty [TIAR] states that in the event of a situation that may endanger peace in Latin America, consultation means of the inter-American system must be put to work to study, with the required urgently and interest, the actions that must be taken to preserve peace and security in the continent.

My country has always maintained that there can't be any controversy between states which can't be solved through the application of peaceful procedures established in international law.

Recently, and in this same room, the constitutional and democratic Government of Honduras and its president, Roberto Suazo Cordova, presented to the peoples and governments of the continent an initiative aimed at internationalizing peace in Central America. Our proposal was inspired by the firm desire for peace that characterizes Hondurans. This same desire took us to almost all the member countries of this organization in order to explain our ideas and intentions to their respective chiefs of state. We were able to corroborate with satisfaction that each one of them is moved by the spirit of inter-American peace, solidarity and cooperation. From all the states we visited we received expressions of affection, support and encouragement.

Regarding the Central American case, my government is very willing to contribute to the cause of peace. Therefore, on this occasion it states that, without affecting our firm and reiterated support to Argentina's just claim, we must make the necessary efforts to find the path for understanding and for a solution negotiated with dignity by the sides directly involved in the conflict over the Malvinas Islands without sparing any established means to this goals.

I am sure that in this effort, we will find the same firm and positive answer that we received for our peace plan for the Central American area. This must be this way because we are obliged to increase our efforts in favor of peace and understanding among nations.

In such a dramatic time for the world as the present, when international relations are shaken by the language of belligerence and the belligerence of dialectics, the great problem posed in the Southern Atlantic, between Argentina and the United Kingdom, is causing Latin America to experience moments of anguish and uncertainty.

The inter-American system is also facing a difficult test of its effectiveness. The Latin American governments, therefore, must react by demonstrating that the system is still in effect, that the principles which make it up are observed by the states and that the beliefs and peaceful conviction of our peoples are at the service of the most noble causes that gave birth to this organization.

In view of the present challenge of this moment we are experiencing, there should not be any doubt: in the face of the dangers threatening one of the countries of this continent, the desire for peace and the active solidarity of these states becomes obvious.

Never more than now have we needed an impartial understanding in order to have international peace based on justice and freedom as a testimony of the praise and respect for the values inherent to [word indistinct] of human beings instead of the spectre of holocaust and disintegration.

The effectiveness of the solutions to controversies among states is basically subject to the good faith that must be placed on their application. One must not expect that (?positive results) [word indistinct] resorting to peaceful means to delay the solution of international problems indefinitely or to cover the noncompliance of international resolutions or to try to gain time hide the illegality of an action. If there is not good faith in the efforts for peaceful solution [words indistinct] affecting the legal structure of the international system. This can only lead to increasing tensions and to further complicating the finding of a solution. This generally leads to new conflicts such as the case we are discussing today.

The inter-American system should speak up about the vital importance that this principle has in international relations. In like fashion, the use of force, which is formally condemned in the TIAR, has been used in the past to impose hegemonic wills to (?forcefully) occupy territories over which one has no titles or rights or to carry out forceful actions which, by their own nature, contribute to undermining the legal scaffolding that has been built with such determination and perseverance to serve and benefit the international community.

Different inter-American conferences have rejected the use of threats, force or any other means of effective coercion to acquire territories, maintain colonial systems or occupy lands in our continent.

Honduras fully identifies itself with this criticism and rejection, because resorting to force in international relations with such intentions leads to the forceful recovery of rights which had been (?violated).

Therefore, the formula of mutual respect, good faith and honorable understanding are the only ones that guarantee international peace and security.

We must stress that this is the first time that the consultative organ has been convoked, according to the TIAR, to discuss a real and dangerous situation that has come from overseas. This is another challenge presented to the inter-American system because we are facing the case of a regime of multilateral legal [word indistinct] which was created to consolidate and strengthen relations among friends and neighbors and to guarantee peace through any means possible, to ward off threats of aggression and provide collective assistance to face attacks against any state in this continent.

In this sense and for the purpose of contributing to finding a prompt and effective solution to the serious situation that threatens American peace and security, my government believes that this consultative meeting should:

1. Clearly express solidarity with the Republic of Argentina's just claim over the Malvinas Islands, reaffirming the recognition of its sovereign rights over that territory;
2. Condemn the use of force in international relations;
3. Express its desire for the definite elimination of colonialism in America;
4. Stress the importance of good faith in the use of the mechanisms for the peaceful solution of international controversies;
5. Urge the withdrawal of the extracontinental forces from the region described in article 4 of the treaty which is the basis for this meeting;
6. Urge the parties to continue making their best efforts to continue or renew the negotiations and to achieve a peaceful solution of their dispute.

Mr president, Messrs foreign ministers:

The Honduran Government trusts that these initiatives can help prevent the further worsening of the crisis that is affecting the Americas and that has repercussions in the structure of contemporary international relations. We have a moral duty to show that we are capable of [word indistinct] a harmonious coexistence among nations as a basis for our concern so that peace among states and friendship among peoples will be an unquestionable reality at the present time and the destiny of future humankind. Thank you very much.

CSO: 3010/1435

BRIEFS

SITES OF SOMOZIST CAMPS--The Honduran Committee for Peace and Friendship with Nicaragua has reported the existence of more than 10 counterrevolutionary camps in Choluteca and El Paraiso departments. According to this committee, the Somozists are receiving advice from U.S. and Argentine military officers. The committee, which is made up of 45 popular organizations of Honduras, has asked the government of President Roberto Suazo Cordova to immediately dismantle these bases of the counterrevolutionaries. The report disclosed that these bases are located in: El Triunfo, one near San Marcos de Colon, and another between San Marcos de Colon and San Francisco, on the Pan-American Highway. It was also reported that there are other camps in (Sayutama), another between San Marcos de Colon and Choluteca known as Las Hormigas and one more in Santa Emilia, Orocuina. There are also camps in El Porvenir, Valle de Jamastran in Danli Municipality, and in (Pedro Salgado)'s ranch in El Paraiso Department on the border with Nicaragua. There are three more camps in Las Limas, Oropoli between Cifuentes and Las Trojes. [Text] [PA231752 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 1200 GMT 23 Apr 82]

AIRPORT SECURITY TIGHTENED--The authorities have instituted especially tight security measures at Toncontin International Airport in view of the latest events in Tegucigalpa. Here is a report from Radio San Pedro: [Begin relay] Extremely tight security measures have been adopted at Toncontin International Airport in view of the latest actions by subversives with foreign links. Special units of the public security forces, Department of National Investigation and the (female police department) [policia femenina] are thoroughly searching incoming and outgoing passengers. Metal detectors have again been placed in operation in an effort to prevent crimes aboard departing planes or in the country. Properly registered weapons carried by persons holding valid licenses are temporarily held and returned to their owners after planes land in foreign airports to prevent regrettable incidents which may result in tragedy. The security measures adopted by Honduran authorities have been welcomed by local residents and foreigners, who can now travel at ease through Central America. It has been reported that similar precautions are being adopted at other airports throughout the country. [End relay] [Text] [PA261643 Tegucigalpa Cadena Audio Video in Spanish 1145 GMT 26 Apr 82]

CSO: 3010/1435

PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO SURVEYS HIS LITERARY CAREER

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 20 Mar 82 Sec A pp 1, 16, 33

[Interview with President Jose Lopez Portillo by Maria Luisa Mendoza, at Los Pinos; date not given]

[Text] We journalists have milestones in our lives, and good journalists get hold of all the details of the event in the story that will best describe that occasion. I take pride in my observations and my keen eye as a "special correspondent," and yet yesterday, in the presence of my country's president, the author Jose Lopez Portillo, blind emotion was greater than my professionalism, my hide, which should be tanned by now, since life is unmitigated pain, sustained only by love...and so much struggle toughens one. But no. The writer was smoking a pipe; the cashmere of his suit was greenish; I don't recall the tie, only the intelligent look, the gray hair on his head, with a whiteness that was not there before, and his serene happiness, his affection.

There must have been about 50 of us in the Los Pinos library. The intense glowing light given off by the television made me feel more alone than I had ever been, standing and waiting for the door to open for the chief executive to enter. Like a country bumpkin, my trembling was visible despite the nearly 28 years that I had spent earning my living as a journalist.

Instantly, the author was facing me, and somehow everything happened: We were just an interviewer and an author, two individuals discussing literature. He addressed me with the familiar "you" because "we have known each other since you were a little girl and I was a restless adolescent."

From the beginning to the end of the interview, the author was calm, sagacious and erudite, friendly and full of humor. As the dialog progressed, he embarked upon the subject with greater intensity. The bad part is that everything in life comes to an end, even the pleasure of the intellect, the honor of the conversation and the unexhausted topic. He told me that the first books he had read, always attributable to his father, were "The Iliad" and "The Odyssey," that his education had been classical, that, in fact, "Quetzalcoatl" was a book written throughout his life, and put on paper in 2 months, that Don Q is his adolescent ego, and that he is writing notes and outlines for a future book in which he will respond to Don Q, and Don Q will ask the questions.

Strong and Weak

In 1958, Jose Lopez Portillo published "Genesis and General Theory of the Modern State" (Botas publishers); in 1965, "Quetzalcoatl" (Manuel Porrúa publishers); and in 1969, "Don Q," translated into many languages (a fact on which Lopez Portillo comments: "I had to be a candidate for the presidency to have my books republished and translated"). Being with him is exhilarating. One immediately recovers the calm tenderness of his friendship, the clarity and national quality of his words and deeds, and the refinement of spirit which Mexicans of many generations have inherited. The author Lopez Portillo is fraternal and intellectually humorous. He gives one the now extremely rare impression of never having been separated from him, or from that brilliant, enlightened young friendship. During the brief afternoon, the author evoked in me a deep nostalgia for friendly feeling, and without intending to, made me realize what an orphan I have been for half my life. And, fittingly, my hands suddenly became calm, as if all my dead relatives were helping me.

My first question to the author, for my program on the writers of my country (I have no other), a reporting assignment in which I have been engaged in my place of work, Channel 13, for 2 of the 10 years which I have spent in that professional field, was about JLP's introduction to literature, his childhood reading, and whether there was a library in his home as a child....

"Yes, one dating back many generations. In this respect, as in the fundamental experiences of my life, it was my father who gave me the first books which I was to read, and who oversaw my reading. The first book that he gave me was 'The Iliad' and so, I began with the classics, which was a very good thing. Then there was 'The Odyssey,' and later he guided me in my reading, as he had been guided by his father and, I suppose, as he had been by his father, and so on. There is a tradition of literary education in the family which is very formative, and for which I am deeply grateful, because it instructed me greatly."

I explain to the author my familiarity with the work of Jose Lopez Portillo y Rojas, "who was your grandfather. His career as a writer, his lovely novel, 'The Plot of Land,' which started the genre of the rural novel of agriculture and agrarianism, the path to be followed in the writings of your father, the engineer and novelist Jose Lopez Portillo y Webes (in fact, he was a member of the group which accompanied President Madero from Chapultepec to the Palace, when the tragic Ten began), who participated actively in the oil expropriation in 1938, Sir, a brilliant historian who wrote a basic history of oil in Mexico. Both the patriotic and literary traits of your grandfather and father must have had a great influence on you in both the political and literary aspects, did they not?"

"Definitely so. I received the direct influence from my father, and the indirect one, because it was exemplary, from my grandfather, to whose novels I also had early access, not only 'The Plot of Land' but one which I like very much, entitled 'Strong and Weak.' I don't know why it is not well known to the public, but it is very gripping and forceful. I like it perhaps more than 'The Plot of Land.'"

I tell the author that I am going to read it, and he tells me, "Go ahead!" I try to probe why he decided to pursue a career in law (which generally runs concurrently with the literary vocation in our country), and whether he considers it a

good choice, even though what we say would not please Don Q very much. The author laughs and says:

"I had many options, and could choose between being a lawyer, a doctor, a boxer or a painter, and for very special reasons I opted for the lawyer's career. And I do not regret it; it is a very formative career, one which, in the world of what one must be, the normative world, it facilitates communication with virtually all the professional fields. One is in the midst of all of them; it enables one to learn the essence of the human will. To me, the career in law has been one of remarkable training."

Accumulations for the Year 2000

In the delightful exchange of ideas, the man of letters notes that he is more inclined toward literature than painting, "but painting lies ahead...it is my prospect starting in 1983." He admits drawing many horses, and everything in the world: "I have a facility." Once again, he admits ironically: "I hope to be one of the best painters in Mexico by the year 2000."

And he continues with the dream: "I want to live to the year 2000 to reach the year 2000 so as to see what happens. Shall we make a date? I already have many (he warns). I have a date that I made in the political campaign with some youths in Reynosa: at 1100 hours on a Tuesday, the first Tuesday of the year 2000, we are going to meet on a baseball field."

I jokingly ask him whether he would invite me too, and I think aloud, "Let's see whether I arrive." Then Jose Lopez Portillo's chivalry shines: "Yes, you will arrive, of course....you are much younger than I!" I immediately reply: "You are very kind, Sir, almost nobody tells me that...I appreciate it." And we both laugh again before returning to his literary education, and his reading during his youth, which he himself describes as "very classical."

"Homer, basically, the Greek authors whom I read in the valuable collection with green bindings at the University of Vasconcelos. But I also read Tarzan when I was very young; I read many adventure stories. I am a great reader, for example, of Paul Feval's hunchback, Enrique de Lagardere; but I was guided by my father to read serious works. I think that I read the 'Quijote' fluently at the age of 12; and the Bible when I was very young; in short, classic works which helped me enormously in my training."

I tell him: "Your subsequent literary work of course reflects your reading to a great extent."

"It has no merit, but I believe in the intensity of life during youth. I say so often, and you know it because you were a witness to that time of my life, to how I accumulated things up until the age of 20; I accumulated things during a feverish, restless adolescence, tormented by the infinite and by the discovery of the universe and its complications. And from that time to this, I have been extracting from that store of adolescence and youth virtually everything that I do and experience. To me, it was a real privilege to delve into the universes of so many minds that have left their essence, personal experiences and projections in books. This is

fundamental, because every book is a universe wherein one comes in contact and creates a symbiosis with oneself, if the propitious conditions are present. Obviously, I recommend reading. At least it was very fruitful in my case."

I think aloud that reading is great company in loneliness and illness, completing the digression by comparing the loyal presence of books with that of animals, that of one's dogs. The author utters a brief remark which I deeply appreciate:

"I love dogs, my dear girl."

Do You Write Your Speeches?

I ask him whether he writes by hand or with a typewriter.

"I write by hand, directly. I have two options: either I improvise orally or, if I decide to write, I do so by hand, because the speed with which I construct a letter, word, sentence and speech allows me a rate of thinking (I would not say inspiration, because it sounds shocking), a rate of thinking that will enable me to sense what has already been written and to know in advance what I am going to say next. I cannot dictate to an electronic machine; I only dictate the official letters to the secretaries. So, to me the ideal way of writing is to do so, to write by hand."

There is something that I ardently wish to ask the author and president, and I do so: "I have the honor to have known you for a long time; I recognize you in your speeches, which seem magnificent to me. For example, I refer to the one you delivered in the Chamber of Deputies (when you were secretary of finance), or the one given when you took office. As a citizen, I consider both to be brilliant, and genuinely top-flight oratory. Like a good Guanajuatan, I still believe in oratory. Do you write all those speeches?"

"Yes, of course! I can tell you that the one in the Finance Secretariat was improvised, on the basis of notes, of course, because I had to deal with figures. It was a difficult time (like the one that we are experiencing now, an equivalent). I improvised, using cards and notes. The speech when I took office was the one which I worked on the most in my life. I wrote it, worked on it, revised it, amended it, amended it again, spending virtually a month; word by word, every comma. I polished it and repolished it; it was a very critical speech to which I attached all the significance that my will was capable of attaching to it."

Jose Lopez Portillo seeks the exact names of things. I continue, and ask him the reason for writing an essay first, referring to "Genesis and General Theory of the Modern State" dedicated (in my opinion, with humility) "to the students"; and why he did not write fiction first. "Did you write poetry?"

"Very little poetry per se, with lyrics, meter, rhyme, etc., very little. Prose really comes to me with a certain ease, but poetry, as it is usually understood, does not. I wrote two or three little verses which never satisfied me. I forgot about it, and since then I have written prose. I have written many things. My children are now discovering a heap of nonsense that I wrote on the title pages of books, and in the school notebooks; the insanity of restless adolescence. And they are compiling them....

"Prose allows me more freedom; it doesn't bind me to canons or rhythms; rather, the sequence of the creation itself imposes what is fitting...."

Laughter: Restorer of Dignity

I explain to him that I am particularly fond of his book "Quetzalcoatl," citing how I have studied it and the data that I have compiled, my admiration for its pre-Hispanic culture and how he remarks therein that Quetzalcoatl is a person who knows how to laugh. "It seems like a discovery to me, because laughter is a movement of the spirit, is it not?"

"If you think about it, my dear girl, that idea in 'Quetzalcoatl' and in 'Don Q' has deep interconnections. In 'Don Q' there is a chapter devoted to laughter as the restorer of human dignity. The topic had already begun to appear in 'Quetzalcoatl.' There is a whole chapter in it as well on that laughter restoring the dignity of man. Quetzalcoatl says: 'And you can laugh, my son, you can even laugh at yourself!' So, 'Don Q' stresses laughter. And that will be the theme which I shall continue, if I keep on producing prose (as I expect to)."

(He raps the arm of the chair with his knuckles, for luck, filled with happiness, I emphasize.) In this connection, I mention to him how clever it was to point out what the teponaxtle tree sang when its wood was knocked for the ceremony, in "Quetzalcoatl"; and I dwell somewhat on his major sources of reference.

"When I was 13 years old, I knew that I was going to write something about Quetzalcoatl, ever since I came in contact with the legend, the myth and the character as well; because I was greatly interested in its significance and its mystery. And when I was a boy of 13, I started taking notes, and I had many, a great many, which I later used to write this book in a very hasty manner, because I wrote it in a couple of months."

I commented: "When one is an elementary school pupil, Indian names are very difficult; and you are to be commended for having been so interested as a child." The writer confirmed: "It was my father's influence, my father's guidance."

My response is: "We are our parents, we are our family, we are our blood, we are our own history."

"I cannot understand the psychological plays about the conflict between generations, meaning parents and children. To me, my family was in harmony: my father and mother, between themselves; my father and mother, with their children; and, specifically, my father with me."

"You used wonderful sources as a basis for writing 'Quetzalcoatl'; you referred to 'The Affairs of New Spain' by Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, 'The Indian Monarchy' by Juan de Torquemada, and Fernando de Alba Ixtlilxochitl, as well as two books written by your father, 'The Truly Strange and Supernatural in the Conquest of Mexico' and 'Historical Dynamics of Mexico.' He, too, had that obsession for roving."

"My father was a writer, and literature was not an obsession with him, but rather an object of research. And he did much of it on history. One of his unfinished books (unfortunately unfinished) is 'Historical Dynamics of Mexico' in which he conceives as a synarchy the two currents which he calls those of Spain's attention, until the time that they converge and comprise one resulting current. Then there is a very important history which he wrote on the Indian cultures, another on Spain and the one which he unfortunately only started, with the first part on the colony, which he stopped to write the history of oil."

"People who are obsessed with a love for culture...."

The author immediately replies: "For the country, for what Mexico represents and for what Mexico is."

"Sir, before you became president of Mexico, you said: 'I love my country deeply!'" And he corrects me: "Very intimately!"; recalling:

"You wrote me a letter thanking me for it...words which know from knowing; and I say there (it seems to me in 'Don Q') that words know from knowing, and they know from taste."

I insist on praising his writing, when Quetzalcoatl intended to go to the lair of the Chichimecas and take away the tree of life, and how the trees had to be protected, as he exclaimed: "Especially when they are of life!" I return to the colorful comment made by Quetzalcoatl: "I do know what to do with this body filled with afflictions and violence." And then he asks Cihuatl: "And what will become of death?" And he answers him by saying: "I have felt it like a gray buzzing...."

I refer to the end of 'Don Q' and, on the last page, I read: "I finished the epilog at the National Palace, on 2 May 1965...."

"Yes, I was in the Legal Department. I wrote this book during the 2 months that elapsed between my departure as director of the Federal Boards of Material Improvements and my entry into the Legal Department of the Secretariat of the Presidency. They were 2 months in which I was left with nothing to do. So, in order not to become desperate or torture myself, I decided to write what I had intended since childhood. I went to my desk, took out the notes and in 2 months I wrote 'Quetzalcoatl.'"

There followed a superficial discussion of 2 intense but brief months of work, and the pace of creation; and we both ended by agreeing that they are, first and last, summaries of life. That is what literature is, the response of life.

Tehutlampa

"I am now still deliberating against the store that I created as an adolescent; it is what has served me in life as a reserve; and against that I am constantly drawing, drawing, drawing. It is in the first part of life that one is most receptive, virgin; when the questions remain indelible and enhance themselves."

I say, alluding to Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, that perhaps it is like the "Little Chests in the Cupboard." He accepts the idea very quickly, and continues:

"That's it: they keep on combining and combining; and that is adolescence. This is why I like Plato's Dialogs, because nearly all of them are with young people, with adolescents."

"Sir, then came 'Don Q' and you subtitled it 'Conversations on I-ness and Other Transcendental Matters.'" I read it again, referring to a character who says that, "he liked words for their sound, their representation and their meaning," and there ensues a confession of love for the word Tehutlampa.

"I believe that it is the most beautiful word ever invented....Tehu-tlampa! This is what heaven is, the universe and the cycle wherein the gods move: Theu... the tehules; the horizon of the gods, the Tehutlampa."

"The book is filled with humor, which is a parting of the water. You are quite well aware that we Mexicans have a marked sense of humor only in real life, so to speak."

The author laughs again, his face filled with light; I feel that he is now completely into the subject....

"In my infinite vanity as an author, I claim that the young people being born now will laugh with 'Don Q' and, about the year 2000, when I join them there in...."

I dare to interrupt him: "When we join each other...said the other." He accepts my underscoring very goodnaturedly, and completes his original notion, after which I ask him this question: "Although I know that Don Q is a cousin of Saint Exupery and a cousin of Unamuno, who, actually, is that wise character?"

"Don Q is my adolescent ego, that adolescent who accumulated so many things: a thin, tormented youth, filled with the infinite, who experienced much restlessness between the ages of 15 and 21, discovering the world, the galaxies. That is Don Q. He is my adolescent self conversing with the mature man. But now I am going to take revenge, because in the next book that I write there will be a dialog in which my interlocutor will be Don Q, and the one who talks will be I, the I of the present."

"Who are Lu and Ug, the other characters in 'Don Q'?"

"They are real characters with whom I lived very closely in my youth. Ug was a very good and very rough Basque, and still is; he travels thereabouts (very worn out, to be sure); and Don Lu is a cousin of mine, whose name I shall not give, because he also travels thereabouts causing trouble, and with whom I lived those years very intensely."

"Don Q is very wise. For example, he says that we Mexicans retain an invincible desire to denigrate ourselves, to tear ourselves apart and bleed from the wounds that we ourselves have brought on us. It is the wisdom of a mature man and, Sir, when you wrote the book, you were not very old...."

The author (who smokes during the entire interview) takes slight puffs on his pipe and blows smoke rings with an odor of deep learning. He has not stopped gazing at me like an actor turning over forces to the adversary; he is one who knows how to play with the knuckles of his left hand on the carved wood of the chair in which

he is sitting, with his legs crossed (with socks and a black tie, now I know), with no rings on his fingers, but only very conservative cufflinks on the sleeves of the light blue shirt; one who has always had masculine attractiveness. He stops me and says:

"Yes, I was already a mature man! I must have been over 40 years old. I was already middle-aged, of course, my dear girl!"

It is night outside of the library, and I know that the trees are bending under a light March rainfall. The interview is nearing its end and I dread it, even though inside of me my dead relatives have comforted me, and the author-president has offered me so much cheer. In the realm of the statements of Don Q who, one day, recommends that Jose find something "to which to dedicate all his desire," Jose Lopez Portillo agrees that he has achieved it.

"And it is precisely with this sentence that I shall begin the second part in 1983; and it is true that, on the last page, I wrote: 'Mexico City, 31 October 1967, 2:55 pm.'" (The latter stems from a remark of mine on the peculiar nature of the information in "Don Q".)

"Your grandfather founded THE LITERARY REPUBLIC, and the group which included Puga y Acal, Salado Alvarez, etc.; and therefore I ask, have you written in newspapers?"

Memory of the Memoirs

"Very little. I wrote for the newspaper that Echeverria founded, MEXICO IN THE UNIVERSITY. I wrote three articles which were circulated therein. I have written some for technical or scientific journals, and for university magazines, but nothing else, not much. There are these books which you have here, and many other foolish things which are still here and there and which, by the way, my children are collecting."

"And what are you writing now, Sir?"

"My child, what do you want me to write? In fact, I am not writing anything; I am taking notes on what happens in this lovely, privileged position, disorganized notes with no pretensions, as a record of remembrance. I am amazed that the time goes by so fast. I make a note today, and I realize that I have not done so for a week, and I worry. I write speeches, and the presidential reports, yes. Perhaps I might have time, because there is always time for a discipline (I am a very disciplined person); but what is lacking is an inclination. My entire will is devoted to this responsibility, and there is no way of diverting it. One must dedicate oneself to what one has, and devote oneself with complete willingness; that is what I do, with complete willingness. There may always be an hour or two to steal from sleep, but I don't think that I have many."

"You know that it is a privilege for Mexico to have a president-author, and hence I stress memoirs. Mexico lacks memoirs (or is it perhaps a memory?). We have those of Tata Lazaro, President Cardenas, but they are very fragmentary; and the little 'Notes for My Children' which President Benito Juarez wrote remarkably well...."

"Very well researched by Jorge Tamayo, a marvel of research. Yes, I shall write, it is my calling; I insist that the second part of 'Don Q' will be such a work, in a way. Otherwise, who will answer the questioning young adolescent whom I am going to confront in 1983? What did you do with the will that you dedicated? Turn it over to him..."

"Will it be a saga about you yourself?"

"Well, not exactly, but I shall attempt it. The saga seems fundamental to me; it is part of my first books. 'The Legend of Gosta Berling' by Selma Lagerlof who, to my surprise, is not well known to the Swedes. Now that I have visited Sweden, I learned that Selma, and specifically 'Gosta Berling,' is no longer commonly read."

The Doomed Shakespeare

"What are you reading now? I ask this because it is obvious to me that you are a great reader. Do you sometimes refer to Fernandez de Lizarol, Payno, Zarco, Prieto or Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz; or do you read the 'Letters of Relation' by Hernan Cortes, Bernal Diaz del Castillo, etc.?"

"I have a set of original reading books, many of which you have mentioned. I like William Shakespeare very much, although I do not read him directly in English; he is one of my favorite authors. I take one of his books on all my travels; he is inexhaustible, the doomed, the unfortunate infinite Shakespeare, is inexhaustible (we laugh). I don't read the books of the young, because they don't reach me; but I do read the recognized Mexican authors, such as Octavio Paz, who fascinates me, Carlos Fuentes and Jorge Ibarguengoitia, who amuses me so much;" (and at this point, again, this author's chivalrous gallantry appears: "...and the dear Mendoza").

When the president of the republic, Jose Lopez Portillo, the author, had gone, the entire team of Channel 13, my colleagues and I, remained paralyzed, in other words, drained. Well, I in particular, for I am the one who is speaking and writing. My nerves were exhausted, and my straps drenched inside; another experience in my trade as a writer.

2909

CSO: 3010/1394

PORTRAIT OF VERACRUZ POWER STRUCTURE

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 30 Mar 82 Sec A pp 1, 12, 26

[Article by EXCELSIOR correspondent Fernando Meraz: "Eight Powerful Clans Share Veracruz"]

[Text] Panuco, Veracruz, 29 March--The closed door guarded by two fierce-looking watchmen would indicate that a definitive meeting was being held inside. But when, by afternoon, the head of the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] municipal committee, Heriberto Elias Guzman, admitted with a sour expression on his face that the name of the speaker who was to welcome to Veracruz the PRI's candidate for the presidency of the republic, Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, tomorrow was still unknown, this would attest to the fact that the confrontation had been harsh.

Because in weeks of intensive planning, neither the new delegate on the party's National Executive Committee, Senator Oscar Bailon Chacon, nor the "coordinators" sent from Mexico City, nor the PRI's state leader, Edmundo Martinez Zaleta, had succeeded in reconciling the conflicting interests here, in one of the most ferocious strongholds of the Huasteca cattle estates now being disputed by the cattlemen led by Alfonso Guzman Rodriguez, son of the former president of the Supreme Court of Justice, Alfonso Guzman Neyra, and the former chairman of the National Cattlemen's Confederation, Wilebaldo Flores Fuentes, a battle in which the "patriarch" of the PEMEX [Mexican Petroleum] union, Joaquin Hernandez Galicia, alias "La Quina," is also participating.

Since the interests were irreconcilable, finally the authority of Governor Acosta Lagunes prevailed, allowing the speaker's naming to avoid the turmoil.

This afternoon, Panuco, the starting point for the 13th phase of the election campaign of the PRI's candidate for the presidency of the republic, is seething with the excitement of the advance parties, the confusion of the country folk and the silent struggle being carried on by the groups of families that have divided among themselves this wealthy municipality, from whose summer pastures half a million head of cattle leave each year for the Federal District, with holdings of power and influence.

For 25 years, the final word in the Veracruz area of the Huasteca region was that uttered by the former president of the Supreme Court of Justice, Alfonso Guzman Neyra, the laconic judge who acquired the backing of Miguel Aleman, the austere jurist who won the friendship of Adolfo Ruiz Cortinez, the docile executor of the

law who, with his gentle manner, also gained the good will of Gustavo Diaz Ordaz. Hence, it was he who appointed and removed municipal presidents, it was he who selected the candidates for local and federal deputy and he was the person appealed to by those who aspired to reach the Senate of the Republic; and, if that were not enough, he also had the privilege of influencing the president's inclination in the choice of candidates for governor.

Today, the broad, fertile summer pastures, whose verdancy stretches out to the horizon until it meets the blue in the background, are shared by eight powerful families, under sophisticated types of agrarian pretense. The powerful boss of the PEMEX union, Joaquin Hernandez Galicia, alias "La Quina," has also taken part in the dispute, complicating it further still.

The concentration of economic power and influence has distorted Huasteca's political development, in a process currently being fought resolutely by the new state governor, Agustin Acosta Lagunes, whereby the concentration of land has excluded large majorities of farmers and Indians, cut off from civilization by the terror of the white guards.

The conflict is being waged at present, on the one hand, by the chairman of the Cattlemen's Association, Alfonso Guzman Rodriguez, son of Guzman Neyra, in mutual agreement with the former head of the National Cattlemen's Confederation, Wilebaldo Flores Fuentes. Also fighting with them are the families of former Governor Rafael Murillo Vidal; Pablo Ferro Polito, political boss of Pueblo Viejo; Marino Barrios, leader of the owners of the Tampico Alto watermelon plantations; Sara Garcia Iglesias, identified as political boss of Ozuluama; and Manuel Ponce Guerrero; as well as the Azuara family of Tempoal.

Following the death of Guzman Neyra, the political boss system became even more closed. At that time, the PRI made the teacher Sofia Maza de Leon mayor, with the backing of the Guzman Neyras. But the family of former Governor Murillo Vidal sought a way of consolidating the regional control, therefore causing the PPS [Popular Socialist Party] to run Raul Pazzi Sequera as a candidate, his campaign having been financed by Virginia Cordero de Murillo Vidal. And the expedient used was so effective that the PRI lost the municipal elections to the PPS.

The struggle became more intense during the recent elections for the municipal presidency; because once the split appeared, new economic and political forces and interests intervened. The municipal president, Fortino Vazquez Diaz, backed by the small landholders and the head of the Farmers Regional Committee, Noe Aguilar Martinez, supported the candidacy of Francisco Garcia Diaz.

The Powerful Cattlemen

But the most powerful cattlemen, combined with the wealthy merchants of the area represented by Deputy Fidel Herrera Beltran, in turn chose as their candidate Manuel Silva Villanueva. Also participating in the struggle was Raul Pazzi, who made common cause with Jesus Valenzuela; and, on the other hand, "La Quina," Hernandez Galicia, attempted to use all the strength of the powerful PEMEX union to make the oil workers' leader, Jose Luis Gracia Sanchez, prevail.

The fighting was so heavy that the PRI had to resort to asking for the intervention of Governor Acosta Lagunes in order to curb the aspirations of the political bosses. The governor decided to maintain his support for free democratic activity, and made a forceful appeal to impose the state's authority. Under these conditions, the PRI's municipal convention led to the election by a wide margin of votes of Francisco Garcia Diaz, who is currently municipal president.

Papantla: Another Political Boss System

From Panuco, Miguel de la Madrid will travel to Papantla, via the highway which was repaired this afternoon by speedy brigades from SAHOP [Secretariat for Human Settlements and Public Works]. There he will find the ruins of the old market which flourished in the shadow of the precious, aromatic vanilla orchid, which the Indians in the vicinity call "xa-nath."

Vanilla, which is produced only in Madagascar and Papantla, and is controlled by a powerful French consortium, was at one time the region's major source of wealth. Approximately 10,000 Totonac Indian families began to experience a dream come true when the French discovered the aromatic pods here, explains the municipal president, Juan Gutierrez Marie.

So great was the volume of funds and foreign exchange generated by the exporting of vanilla, the production of which during the 1940's and 1950's amounted to a million kilograms per year, that in 1943 President Avila Camacho issued a decree stipulating that the cutting of vanilla would necessarily be done after 15 November.

A Deteriorated Market

However, the market started to deteriorate after middlemen and dealers, in collusion with officials from the Secretariat of Agriculture, engaged in indiscriminate cutting during the 6-year terms of Miguel Aleman, Diaz Ordaz and Echeverria which gradually caused a decline in the quality of Mexican vanilla.

The history of the decline in vanilla did not take place in a day, nor even a year. It was a slow process which never stopped, which increased under the aegis of corruption and for which no one or no government ever sought a solution. Gutierrez Martinez remarked: "The demoralization of the Totonacs, who at one time were proud of their race, their work, their land and their vanilla, with a phenomenon of material bankruptcy, has its origin in the plundering of the vanilla."

Examples? During Diaz Ordaz's time, the plant health department of the SAG [Secretariat of Agriculture] sent as a presidential representative an individual named Carlos Villada Ballina who, as a first measure, dissolved the Vanilla Producers Association, consisting of 95 percent Totonac Indians, and subsequently made shady deals with local middlemen and international merchants. At the end of the 6-year period, what had been a flourishing business and virtually a world monopoly for Mexico had almost disappeared.

In good times, the vanilla yielded harvests worth from 50 to 60 million pesos, "the former pesos," every year. Now, livestock is raised, or beans and corn are planted on the land where the prized orchid used to be grown. "All the pressure brought to bear by the large estate owners, the cattlemen and the middlemen led to nearly total elimination of the xa-nath."

The Long-Standing Tragedy of the Port

The candidate Miguel de la Madrid will sleep here, with his party. Previously, he will be in Tuxpan, where he will officiate at a rally. Here, the heads of the Regional Federation of Fishing Industry Cooperative Associations, Carlos Lima Noguera, Guillermo Perales Delgado, Victor Manuel Calvo and Efren Cerecedo Aguilar, because their petition had not yet been included in the PRI candidate's program as of yesterday, will attempt to bring up to him the long-standing tragedy of the port: Lack of government backing, lack of vessels and injustice in the provision of credit have brought over half the fishing cooperatives to chaos.

First the Cooperative Development Bank, then the Projects Bank and now the National Fishing Bank have been the bureaucratic labyrinths through which the fishing cooperative members have marched in their struggle to keep their source of employment alive.

For example, since 31 March 1977 the Rios-Pantepec cooperative has requested financing to purchase shrimpboats which had already been requested from the Reyes-Azcuaga Shipyards in Ciudad del Carmen. In response, they received boats for catching red snapper, which are useless to them.

The Santiago de la Pena association has been requesting credit to purchase shrimpboats since September 1977. Since that time, the same request has been repeated to government departments, candidates and governors.

To date, they have received no response. And the same thing holds true for the Tenchaco, Port of Tuxpan, Tamiahua Fishermen and Tecolutla-Gutierrez Zamora Cooperatives, which have not received a reply, despite their insistence. The PRI has not yet decided whether the candidate will hear the Tuxpan fishermen.

2909

CSO: 3010/1394

BANNED ILV CONTINUES TO OPERATE

Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish 29 Mar 82 pp 20-21

[Article by Guillermo Correa and Pablo Hiriart: "With the Support of Sabines, the ILV Continues Full Operations"]

[Text] The meridian which splits Vietnam in two, 17° latitude north, runs through the heart of Chiapas, passing through the coffee-growing municipality of Pantelho. That simple geographic fact identifies Chiapas as a tropical land, a member of the underdeveloped world and the center of operations of the Summer Linguistic Institute [ILV].

In spite of the fact that the Secretariat of Public Education has terminated the agreement which authorized the Institute to work in national territory, the ILV's "missionaries" stroll through the native villages of Chiapas preaching submission, asking pardon for the chieftains and telling the Tzeltals that hunger is good for the purification of the soul within their bodies, which are filled with unimaginable original sins and sins contracted in life.

This is a region of unemployment, growing nonconformity, with no industries, starvation-level agriculture, piracy in trade, deforestation of 39 percent of their forests, illiteracy of 42 percent of its populace, infant mortality of 60 percent and premature deaths from perfectly curable contagious diseases, according to the study "The Social Formation of Chiapas" by the Institute of Anthropological Consultation for the Maya Region.

Under similar conditions, the people of Panama, Vietnam and Ecuador go about their chores, with the exception that those countries opted to expel the evangelists of submission from their territories for attacks on their cultural integrity and sovereignty.

On 21 September 1979, the Secretariats of Government and Public Education announced the end of the agreement which the Mexican state had signed with that organization. However the ILV did not leave the country.

Indulgently the ILV minimizes the decision of the federal authorities: "We have very good relations with Mr Sabines' government. That includes the use

of the state's radio frequency for our communications," PROCESO was told by the Presbyterian missionary in charge of the ILV in the Buenos Aires camp in Chiapas, Samuel Hffman.

"Why do the ILV researchers continue to remain here when their connection with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is undeniable?" asks Victoria Novela, president of the Society of Ethnologists and Anthropologists of Mexico. She accuses the authorities of irresponsibility in the resolution of this problem and characterizes the breaking of the agreement as a mere formality.

"It is such a formality," she said, "that in the selfsame agreement it is stated that when one of the parties breaks the agreement there is a grace period of 1 year for the Institute to hand over the installations and to cancel its radio frequencies; however, 2 and a half years after the announcement, members of the ILV, principally those from the United States, are continuing to make use of everything."

Disguised as the "Tzeltal Cultural Center, A.C.," the Summer Linguistic Institute is carrying on intensive activities in Chiapas, at the Buenos Aires camp, located between Ococingo and Altamirano.

And so intensive are its activities that the campmaster, Mr Hoffman, barred entry to the principal house and explained at the threshold of the door:

"We have a lot of work because we are preparing a new version of the Old Testament in Tzeltal." "What is more," he said "in a few days, a large group of missionaries will come here to join the programs being carried out by the ILV personnel assigned to Mexico."

Fifteen houses have been readied for "the group" on the 105 hectares "of our property," surrounded by forests of pine and mahogany which are greener in the rain. This is a dream world prepared for the visiting U.S. citizens who are coming here to redeem the Tzeltales.

However, they have a problem. The landing strip was plowed up by the army 4 months ago because the missionaries were involved in marihuana trafficking. Opposite their camp, 54 hectares sown with marihuana were discovered. This was unknown to the natives of the region, according to the villagers.

Antonio Antun lives 2 kilometers from the camp. He is a Tzeltal who joined the missionaries 8 years ago, attracted by "the paper which speaks by itself" --the Scripture--and to this day he has remained faithful to the teachings.

"If you kick me, I must not kick back. Instead I must ask God to forgive you. I must remain with my arms crossed and never respond to attacks. If there is a killing, there must not be any response. Instead God must be asked to forgive the invaders."

"What is sin?"

"Everything," he answered. "Everything is sin; and although you do not know it, you are filled with sins that you are not even aware of."

"Is a strike or an invasion a sin?"

"Yes. And one of the biggest sins."

He explained the morality he had learned from the linguists: "Our whole body is filled with sin; every little part of it. Therefore, we must cross ourselves many times a day because God is keeping an eye on us. We must pray a lot and must work all alone. I do not have to know what this one here or that one there is doing. We must work and pray all alone." "At the end of the world," he added, "some will carry hay, others wood, others gold. Wood and hay are burned; on the other hand, gold remains here...they are the ones who will be saved."

Don Antonio crosses himself six times a day; however, he, his wife and two daughters "eat when the chicken lays an egg; when it does not lay an egg, we do not eat." His wife and daughters are suffering from malnutrition.

The largest training center for "survival in the forest" of the Summer Linguistic Institute is reached after a 2-day ride on muleback in the forest. Yax'okintelja is the site selected by the "missionaries" for the training of those who will be the bearers of the word of God to other continents but in the same latitude.

Celestino Cruz, a native of Ococingo, reported that during his period as a bilingual teacher in the vicinity of the training center he had the opportunity to meet Japanese, Canadians and Americans who taught him to survive in the forest without provisions.

The National Council of Indigenous Peoples, headed by Apolinar de la Cruz, has denounced the Federal Government's lack of force in the expulsion of the ILV. "They are acting in secret," said Genaro Dominguez, leader of the Ethnic Groups Coordinating Committee of Mexico.

In the Federal District, the Institute continues to utilize the landed ceded by the Secretariat of Patrimony and Industrial Development in 1960; and it is there that those who are to enter the indigenous life of the country receive their first lessons.

In this regard, the director of the National School of Anthropology and History, Gilberto Lopez y Rivas, is asking for the ILV library in Mexico City, with about 5,000 books, to become part of the national patrimony.

He said that it is time to stop making fun of institutions, which have advocated the expulsion of the ILV, with partial solutions, as the only thing these partial solutions have accomplished is the strengthening of the activities of the Summer Linguistic Institute.

He said: "This is a political-ideological organization which works under the cover of alleged linguistic tasks or applied anthropology."

In the face of this situation, the National Alliance of Bilingual Indigenous Professionals, the National School of Anthropology and History, the National Coordinating Committee for Indigenous Peoples and the Society of Ethnologists and Anthropologists are demanding the immediate and definitive expulsion of the Summer Linguistic Institute from the national territory.

PRIEST SHELTERING REFUGEES KILLED

Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish 15 Mar 82 p 25

[Article by Candelaria Rodriguez Sosa]

[Text] Tuxtla Gutierrez, Chiapas--A few days after the bishops of the dioceses for the region called Pacifico-Sur denounced the repression of General Lucas Garcia's Guatemalan regime, the priest at the Mapastepec church, Jose Hipolito Cervantes Arceo, was brutally murdered. He had sheltered three Guatemalans who had sought refuge in our country because of the situation in Guatemala.

The body of the priest was found on Monday the 8th in his room at the Mapastepec parish, 75 km from Tapachula and 270 km from this capital. He was bleeding at the mouth, his teeth had been knocked out with stones, his hands and feet were tied, and there were signs that he had been tortured.

"The tortures inflicted on Hipolito Cervantes are similar to the techniques used by the Guatemalan Government, mainly on the Indian farmers whose bodies have been found in the Suchiate and Usumacinta Rivers along the border," reported Samuel Ruiz, the bishop of San Cristobal de las Casas.

In a letter sent to the state government offices and to the national Secretariat of Government on Thursday the 11th, the bishops of the Pacifico-Sur region denounced the crime and demanded an investigation.

"The method of torture used on the Mapastepec priest is the same as that used by the Guatemalan Army on the peasants; proof of it are the bodies found along the border between our two countries," he repeated.

The crime was discovered at 8:00 am last Monday by the priest's maid, Otelina Cortez Flores, who, when she noticed that the priest had not left his room, looked through a crack in the door and saw the body of Cervantes Arceo lying face down on the mat on which he slept on the floor. The maid and the parishioners immediately reported the event to the municipal police.

Otelina Cortez told the police that the priest had harbored three Guatemalans on the 5th and that he had given shelter to other refugees on previous occasions.

The National Mass Media Center (CENCOS) demanded in a press release that the Mexican authorities investigate the priest's murder, as well as the attacks on three Marist nuns in Comitán, "which are not isolated events."

According to the press release, these acts are perpetrated by gangs working for the Guatemalan military who cross the border and have begun to spread the terrorism raging in Guatemala to our country.

A few days ago, the bishops of the Pacifico-Sur region condemned Lucas Garcia's regime and his repressive army of "Kaibiles," and gave their full support to the Guatemalan refugees staying at the Trinitaria camps.

In an appeal by the bishops of the southeast to help the refugees, they explained that thousands of peasants and farmers from Guatemala--with which Mexico has more than 800 km of border--are seeking refuge in our countryside. "They are men--most older--and women and children who arrive in deplorable physical condition ridden with fear and grief at the aggression and persecution of which they have been the victims in their own country," they added.

The bishops urged people to realize "the vital need to help all refugees from Central America, and especially those from Guatemala, because it is a neighboring country."

The following bishops signed the press release: Bartolome Carrasco Briseno and his assistant, Jesus C. Alva, from Oaxaca; Samuel Ruiz Garcia from San Cristobal; Arturo Lona Reyes from Tehuantepec; and Hermenegildo Ramirez from Huautla.

9805

CSO: 3010/1302

GUATEMALAN ATTACK ON MARIST FATHERS MENTIONED

Mexico City EL SOL DE MEXICO in Spanish 27 Mar 82 pp 1-A, 14-A

[From "Diary of a Political Observer" column, by Armando Rojas Arevalo]

[Excerpt] Friday--We have no concern whatever that Guatemala is going to invade us because it does not have the army to do so. What is more, Mexico is not helpless and does not have its feet tied. What concerns it is that frequently Mexican peasants are harassed by Guatemalan soldiers on the border, particularly at those points in the forest where there is no dividing line; and no one knows whether he is in Mexican or Guatemalan territory...Apart from that, Mexico's silence with respect to several attacks suffered by Mexicans within our territory at the hands of Guatemalan paramilitary groups continues to be surprising. For example, what happened to the investigation into the attack on the Marist Fathers' house in Comitán? What is the story on the assassination of the parish priest of Mapastepec, the nephew of Mendez Arceo? The Marist Fathers were attacked in their own compound to determine whether they were giving refuge to Guatemalans fleeing from their country. Father Hipolito Cervantes Areco, who had hid Guatemalan refugees in his house, was assassinated 2 weeks ago. One report states that three Guatemalans to whom he had given refuge committed the crime to rob their victim; however, there is nothing official.

8143

CSO: 3010/1322

SERGIO RAMIREZ'S SPEECH AT 'INTELLECTUALS MEETING'

Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 7 Mar 82 p 5

[Speech by Sergio Ramirez Mercado at opening ceremonies of the first meeting of the Permanent Committee of Intellectuals for the Sovereignty of the Peoples of Our America; Managua, 4 Mar 1982]

[Text] Companeros: On behalf of the Government of National Reconstruction I wish to bring greetings to all of you, the members of the Permanent Committee of Intellectuals for the Sovereignty of the Peoples of our America, and to the other writers and artists who have been invited by our revolution to participate in this meeting. To all of you we extend a warm welcome to our liberated fatherland. Yours is a committee of intellectuals formed to defend and promote the sovereignty of our peoples, and today we want to tell you that there is an immediate and urgent case to defend right here: the sovereignty of Central America, the sovereignty of the Caribbean, the sovereignty of Nicaragua, threatened as never before by imperialist power and designs which are trying to revive the old history of aggression we have suffered in the past. An entire plot of aggression and threats against Nicaragua is being woven, under cover as well as publicly, and we are sure that many clandestine and also institutional mechanisms have already been activated in the United States to prepare for such aggression and make it possible.

We have heard how the U.S. Government is justifying once again its imperial rights over our people, speaking of its "Fourth Frontier" under the theory that the interests of its national security and the guaranteeing of its maritime trade routes are above our country's sovereignty. Like an old echo we hear again of the "American Continent," which implies the entire hemisphere as Monroe perceived it in the 19th century, a Yankee hunting preserve. We hear the same old voices proclaiming manifest destiny and Howard Taft extolling gunboat diplomacy; we hear Theodore Roosevelt announcing that he is sending his imperial forces to the Caribbean. But we also hear Allen Dulles plotting the blackest activities in Central America, such as in Guatemala in 1954, and we hear also about the speeding up of preparations to land the Marines in our country, as was done here in 1912 and 1926 and in the Dominican Republic in 1965.

We have the longest experience with Yankee intervention. We have not learned to defend our sovereignty with learned theories, but rather in the most heroic

and practical ways. We have always defended our nation, our nationality, our sovereignty, our territorial integrity--our national autonomy, as General Sandino said--and we have consolidated them with weapons and the decision to use those weapons under any circumstances.

In the last few months we have seen an increase in maneuvers and threats against our fatherland and our revolution. Not only is the imperialist rhetoric being used against Nicaragua; there are also terrorism, military plans and intimidation of our neighbors, as well as those most aggressive weapons of diplomacy: blackmail and secret operations. Only recently we have been able to count the following facts which help us to form this threatening picture:

The formation of the so-called "Democratic Community," including Honduras, El Salvador and Costa Rica, was an American maneuver to legitimize the use of an interventionary force linked to the Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty (TIAR) in the Central American area. Later on the United States itself joined the "Community," as did Colombia, which had authorized the establishment of Yankee military bases, and eventually Guatemala. The intention to establish a political, and certainly a military, blockade of Nicaragua is clear.

The establishment of U.S. military bases, projects which are already under way, on Amapala Island in the Gulf of Fonseca and on San Andres Island in the Caribbean Sea within Nicaragua's continental shelf means naval and air bases whose construction is intended to trap Nicaragua, militarily, between its two oceans.

The presence of American warships, equipped with the most sophisticated communications apparatus, in the Gulf of Fonseca, an operation which Napoleon Duarte, president of the Salvadoran Junta, admitted having authorized.

The supplying of money, training and weapons to bands of former Somozist guardsman operating from Honduran territory, as part of a secret operation being carried on by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The existence of this operation was admitted by the Assistant Secretary of state for Latin American affairs, Thomas Enders, before the Intelligence Committee of both houses of the U.S. Congress during a secret session held in December, 1981.

President Reagan's roving ambassador, retired Gen Vernon Walters, took charge of preparations in that area, and veteran CIA officer Nestor Sanchez, assistant secretary of defense for Latin American affairs, was named to head the operation. The U.S. National Security Council approved an expenditure of \$19 million to finance military, political and economic destabilization activities against Nicaragua, and an 8-point plan for implementing this destabilization operation, which includes the participation of military officers of some of the countries of the Southern Cone, chiefly Argentina, to train Somozist groups and infiltrate as mercenaries into Nicaraguan territory.

One of those implicated in the plot to blow up the National Cement Factory confessed that in addition to having received \$50,000 from officers of the

Argentine General Staff, a special Argentine command would be placed in Tegucigalpa to direct sabotage activities against Nicaragua.

As a result of all this terrorist buildup, bands of former Somozist guardsmen, along with Steadman Fagoth, former Somoza security agent, decided to organize for December, 1981 and January, 1982 the so-called operation "Red Christmas," which consisted of razing the indigenous communities along the Rio Coco and establishing a beachhead on Nicaraguan territory. Before the revolutionary government could take absolute control of the area, operation "Red Christmas" resulted in the murder of nearly 60 Nicaraguans, including members of our border troops and army, as well as state security people and civilians. "Red Christmas" also caused the forced exodus to Honduras of large sectors of the indigenous communities. The Somozist guards tortured and raped residents of the communities and some of the medical personnel.

The revolutionary government found it necessary to relocate the riverside communities in safer places in our country, where our Miskito brothers will have, for the first time, access to regular medical attention, education, adequate housing and electricity, as well as land to cultivate. This relocation has given rise to some of the most ferocious, calumnious and false campaigns ever mounted by the CIA and the U.S. Department of State against our revolution.

The state security organs of the Ministry of Interior discovered a plot being developed in Costa Rica, Honduras and the United States to blow up the National Cement Factory and Petroleum Refinery. For this purpose large quantities of explosives were brought into the country.

A commercial plane of AERONICA, the Nicaraguan airline, was blown up in the Mexico City airport with explosives which had been planted to destroy the plane in the air and kill its 100 passengers.

A suitcase containing explosives exploded in the Sandino Airport terminal, killing three humble porters. The suitcase had been placed on the plane at Tegucigalpa, and the terrorist act was intended to force cancellation of the visit of Mexican President Jose Lopez-Portillo. Only a casual circumstance prevented the explosion from killing dozens of passengers who were waiting for their luggage. As one can see, all the mechanisms of terror, aggression and shameless international propaganda are being activated; Somozist gangs formed by former guardsmen who murdered and massacred our people are being used, and they are being armed and trained on U.S. territory as well as in Honduras and Guatemala. Steadman Fagoth is being used brazenly by having him come to Washington to appear before the Congress and before human rights agencies, so that spokesmen for the State Department can immediately repeat his lies. They are using Freedom House and the Religion and Freedom Institute, which are agencies of the CIA, as well as FIGARO magazine and Radio 15 September, which are in Honduras, and they are feeding these lies and falsehoods to newspapers and broadcasting stations in Central America and the entire continent.

To this growing aggression and to the imminent danger that it will very soon be escalated, our revolution has replied with maturity and calmness. We are

a firm and decisive people, and we are not going to back down from any threat, but we have given some signals, and we will continue to give them, that we desire and are seeking a global understanding which will favor peace in Central America and bring stability and security to our region. We expressed this position at the last meeting of the Permanent Conference of Latin American Political Parties held recently in Managua, and we want to repeat it now, so that you can carry this message back and disseminate it in order that the world may know that we are an honorable free country with a clear and definite international policy:

1. Our nation reiterates its policy of nonalignment, which is comprehensive and expresses our true line of international conduct. We wish to maintain relations with every country in the world, without exception, and this is a right that our people have won with their struggle.
2. We are willing to sign nonaggression and mutual security agreements with neighboring countries on the basis of the principle of nonintervention and mutual respect.
3. The Reagan administration has repeatedly accused Nicaragua of supplying and transshipping arms to El Salvador. We have challenged U.S. spokesmen to prove these accusations, and they have never been able to do so. Now we say once more that we urge the defining of military borders and the establishment of ways of patrolling them jointly along our common border with Honduras--because we have no border with El Salvador--and even a joint patrol of our border with Costa Rica. This would contribute to a framework of territorial security and prevent the activities of disaffected elements for all three governments.
4. We repeat once again our willingness to maintain stable and friendly relations with the U.S. Government. We can begin conversations at any time, on any subject of mutual concern, to find a negotiated solution of any conflict and to develop regional economic cooperation.

No plan for economic development of the region, no overall financial plan which affects Central America can be implemented without Nicaragua's participation. It is folly to want to conceive of a Central America without Nicaragua. Nicaragua cannot be excluded from any regional economic plan.

5. The only thing we demand is absolute, unconditional respect for our sovereignty, noninterference in our internal affairs; that counterrevolutionary activities be neither supported nor sheltered, and that we be neither attacked nor blockaded. We energetically reject the idea that:

--Central America's problems are caused by an East-West confrontation. It is a question, rather, of rejection of long-standing poverty and injustice; it is exploitation and looting which has led to the rebellion of our people.

--This situation of poverty and injustice has been caused by a merciless exploitation of the oligarchy and by imperialist looting; but it is also due

to the terrible inequality in terms of economic exchange, which is also a form of exploitation; low prices, restricted markets, which makes us pay for what we export, and the burden of the foreign debt are factors which the powerful countries must change, and not remedy.

--That our revolutions and the establishment of truly democratic regimes signifies a threat to the territorial security of the United States. But we do not accept, either, that our territory can be used to guarantee that security to the United States.

The false propaganda directed against our revolution never looks at the efforts we have been making for almost 3 years to consolidate a political system which includes pluralism and a mixed economy. We are always accused of what we will try to do in the future, of the totalitarianism of the future, of the abolition of political parties in the future, of the suppression of freedom of the press in the future, of the expropriation of all private property in the future. The Sandinist plan has the backing of the great majority of our people and the support of our dead, of our heroes and martyrs. This is a true revolution; it is a revolution with a profound popular significance, which reaffirms its political pluralism, as it has demonstrated; and our plan is to hold national elections in 1985 at the latest; that is a decision of the Sandinist Front for National Liberation (FSLN) and not a concession.

Attacks on any of the people of the Caribbean and of Central America, any intervention in El Salvador, any attack against Nicaragua would change the history of Latin America. President Jose Lopez-Portillo said in Managua a short time ago that any such action on the part of the United States would be a great historical error. The peoples of Latin America, yearning for true democracy and for a real system of social justice have seen a great hope in the Nicaraguan Revolution, and we are sure that they are willing to defend that hope with their solidarity and their enthusiasm, mobilizing to prevent any attack against our country.

But we want to speak also of the American people. A few days ago we read in a cable some statements by Mrs Kirkpatrick, in which she said that we had refused to change a line in our National Anthem which calls the Yankees enemies of humanity. This is not our National Anthem, but rather the hymn of the Sandinist Front for National Liberation, and of course we are not willing to change it. The Yankee to which the Sandinist Hymn refers is the one who has intervened in our country twice in this century; he is the one who impoverished our country, looting our forests and our mines; he is the freebooter, the phalanx of adventurers who wanted to become masters of Nicaragua in the 19th century. He is the Yankee who wanted to prevent the defeat of the Somozist dictatorship, and he is the same Yankee who supported that dictatorship for 50 years. He is the Yankee who does not now accept the fact of our victorious revolution and is aiming, training and financing the Somozist guardsmen and their counterrevolutionary groups, who is supplying explosives to dynamite our factories and to murder our most humble workers.

We are not, however, speaking of the working people of the United States who have been manipulated and deceived so many times; we are not speaking of the black people who have been humiliated and discriminated against, of the

thousands of Hispanic immigrants; we are not speaking of simple American citizens, of their academic communities, their students, or their understanding intellectuals; of their union organizations who understand Latin America; nor of those religious, nuns and priests, who shed their blood in Guatemala, in El Salvador, in the factories, fields and universities; they are the ones who can prevent Yankee intervention in Central America. These are the people who, together with the Vietnamese people, defeated Yankee aggression in Vietnam. And now we are sure that these people, demonstrating the great depth of their historical memory, will recall their experience in Vietnam and oppose with all their efforts any new imperialist venture in Central America. It is up to these people to decide now whether they will have a new Vietnam in their history or whether they will prevent this new Vietnam.

There will be a meeting of Central and North Americans for Sovereignty in September of this year in Mexico. This is an extraordinary opportunity to form joint criteria for establishing a real unity between the people of the United States and ourselves. But we believe that September may be too late; our intellectuals must contact the writers, scientists, artists and academic people of the United States right now and ask them to reject any type of intervention or interference in Central America and the Caribbean.

A humble American father wrote to President Calvin Coolidge in 1927 after his son, a Marine, had died in the Segovias Mountains in Nicaragua fighting against Sandino's Army for Defense of National Sovereignty. He told Coolidge in this letter that his son had died unjustly in Nicaragua, fighting against a people who had never done anything to the United States, and what was worse, fighting to defend interests which were not his: the interests of Yankee bankers and hegemonic interests alien to the American people. And General Sandino told journalist Carleton Beals in January, 1928: "If the American people were not dead to justice and to basic human rights, they would not so easily forget their past, when a handful of tattered soldiers marched across the snow, leaving bloody footprints behind them, to win freedom and independence. If their consciences had not been hardened by material riches, the Americans would not so easily forget that a nation, however weak, sooner or later will obtain its freedom and that every abuse of power hastens the destruction of that power which governs it."

We know that the American people are not dead to justice and that they do not forget their past so easily. We are sure that together with the peoples of Latin America and the world they will serve as a wall to contain intervention in Central America.

Free Fatherland of Death!

Managua, Free Nicaragua

4 March 1982

"Year of United Front Against Aggression"

DELEGATION, MEXICAN BISHOP VISIT MISKITO SETTLEMENTS

Summary of Visit

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 10 Mar 82 p 1

[Text] A delegation from the Permanent Committee of Intellectuals for Sovereignty and the bishop of Cuernavaca, Mexico, Sergio Mendez Arceo, visited the Wasminona Miskito settlement yesterday, which is located 20 kilometers from the Rosita mine, where they had the opportunity to talk with the Nicaraguan Indians about their situation.

The delegation was made up of Susy Castor (Haiti); Claribel Alegria (El Salvador); Pablo and Joaquin Gonzalez Casanova (Mexico); Dieter Mazur (FRG); Bud Flakoll (United States); and a correspondent from the French newspaper LE MONDE, Marcel Niedergang.

The visitors first talked with Guerrilla Commander William Ramirez, minister of the Atlantic Coast, who explained to the intellectuals the purpose of the revolutionary program to resettle the Tasba Pry Miskitos. Additional information on the visit and the talks held with Commander Ramirez and the Miskitos is contained in the following article.

Details of Visit

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 10 Mar 82 p 5

[Text] The revolutionary government is making great efforts to ensure that the program for the resettlement of the Tasba Pry Miskitos will permit the native communities to develop the production and services infrastructures they lack, according to statements made yesterday by Cdr William Ramirez to a group of intellectuals who visited the Wasminona settlement.

Ramirez said that the program calls for investment of 6.3 million cordobas this year to allow the Indians to farm 1,872 manzanas of basic grains and 1.6 million cordobas for the development of several swine farms.

Ramirez added, "Some 22 million cordobas will be invested in the construction of housing, not including the costs of sanitary installations, potable water and electric power." The minister of the Atlantic Coast added, "This year 64 million

cordobas have been earmarked for food which will be distributed free of charge to the populace, including rice, beans, meat and milk. Also 4 million cordobas will be earmarked for the development of educational programs."

Commander Ramirez said that, at present, an 11-kilometer trail is being built at a cost of 6 million cordobas, which will serve to link the Rosita mine with another specific settlement, called "Columbus," which formerly operated a gold mine.

The minister of the Atlantic Coast also discussed mining exploitation in the Atlantic region and reported that, at present, the Bonanza and Siuna mines are being worked. "The Rosita mining center," he said, "is paralyzed, as the Canadian technicians who were working there before the victory left and took the plans with them. The Nicaraguans do not have the experience required to work the mine, particularly for lack of information."

Ramirez said that, in addition to gold, the greatest wealth in the region is the forests and that a joint enterprise has already been formed with the Mexican Government to exploit the region's timber.

With respect to the settlements program, he said that this involves an integral measure, which will produce greater benefits with the official opening of the highway that will link the Pacific and the Atlantic.

Later, the intellectuals traveled to the Wasminona camp and learned that the Indians had abandoned the collective "huts" [champas] in which they were provisionally housed and had already built individual dwellings for each family.

What is more, a small primary school with over 40 pupils is already in operation; and there is a medical dispensary which is serviced by volunteer professionals and students from the Autonomous University of Nicaragua. The Miskito Indians told the visitors of their experiences on the banks of the Coco under the threats of the counterrevolution and discussed their problems and concerns openly.

Assembly of Sumos Communities

In another connection, the bishop of Cuernavaca, Sergio Mendez Arceo, attended the Fifth Assembly of the National Association of Sumas. Communities in the community of "Espanolina" which began yesterday and will end tomorrow, with 132 representatives from 32 communities participating.

Ernesto Almendarez, assembly coordinator, read a statement by the assembly in support of our vanguard, the Sandinist Liberation Front and the Government Junta, affirming that the freedom of native minorities to organize is respected in Nicaragua.

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CSO: 3010/1309

'PARTIES LAW' ANNUALS PLURALISM, SAYS PSC LEADER

Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 4 Mar 82 pp 1, 14

[Text] The last working document of the Law of the Parties has the basic purpose of institutionalizing the fact that in Nicaragua a hegemonic party which concentrates power exists and will exist and that for the other parties the opportunity exists or will exist for mere participation in public administration. That statement was made this morning by Dr Julio Ramon Garcia Vilchez, head of the PSC [Social Christian Party] and an observer for the Democratic Coordinating Committee at some of the working sessions held by the special committee provided for by the draft legislation.

"That hegemonic party," Garcia said, "is the one described by Cdr Tomas Borge in his speech on 20 February 1980 as the 'higher organization' capable of 'leading the mass organizations, of leading our people toward their integral liberation'."

"This is the same party," he added, "which was described by Cdr Raul Castro Ruz on 4 May 1973 when, quoting Lenin, he said that the dictatorship 'can only be run by the vanguard which has within its ranks class revolutionary energy'."

The Principles

Dr Garcia Vilchez also criticized the definition of the principles which are to govern the parties and which this draft legislation wishes to impose. The principles of democracy, pluralism, anti-imperialism, etc. which are set forth in the draft legislation are valid; however, for Dr Garcia: "The fundamental principles which govern the political parties do not take their inspiration from concepts that are ill-defined by a law and can have different interpretations, depending on whether a revolutionary, pluralist and pluriclassist party or a totalitarian and anticlassist party is involved."

Pluralism

"For example," Dr Garcia added, "the bill defines pluralism as the 'recognition of the right to existence of different ideological, political and social parties.' In principle, the mere recognition of the right to exist is not true pluralism; true pluralism is better manifested through the right of public mobilization, free organization of the parties themselves, the equitable use of the communications media, the preparation of different programs, etc."

Anti-Imperialism

"The same is true of the principle of anti-imperialism," our source added, "if by anti-imperialism anti-Americanism is meant, it is a very limited and sectarian concept, because at present imperialism is both American and Russian, as both imperialisms manifest themselves with the same harshness in the political, economic and social sectors."

Antiracism

"The principle of antiracism should not even be mentioned," Garcia Vilchez said, "as in Nicaragua racism has never existed; and, if this revolution produces a racist man, it would be a major aberration of the revolution."

On Purposes

Commenting on the purposes of political parties, the Social Christian attorney said that his article does not recognize the objective of every party which is the taking of power to carry out its historical program.

"On the other hand, we are in agreement," he added, "with a ban on groups or parties which would like to return to Somozism; however, we believe that groups that would like to install dictatorships of any kind should also be banned."

The Power of the JGRN [Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction]

"However, one of the extremes of this party's draft legislation," Garcia Vilchez said, "is the absolute power of the Government Junta over the National Council of Political Parties, which is a party-regulating organization provided for in the bill."

"The last straw," our source said, "is that the directorate of this council is going to have a quorum with the three members appointed by the Junta; and decisions can be made by two of those three members."

"What is more, it is illegal and illogical," Garcia added, "that it is not possible to appeal cases of rejection, authorization, suspension or cancellation of parties." Another criticism of the parties law bill made by Dr Garcia Vilchez is that the Council of State should not be the entity which provides regulations for this law. Instead, this law should be so complete that no regulations are needed.

Many Errors

"Therefore, this is a law which has many and big errors if what we want is a democratic and pluralist parties law for our country."

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VIOLETA CHAMORRO COMMENTS ON WHEELOCK'S U.S. SPEECH

Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 5 Mar 82 pp 1, 14

[News commentary by Violetta B. de Chamorro: "Freedom is LA PRENSA's Struggle"]

[Text] After viewing on Nicaragua's only television system a direct transmission from Washington, capital of the United States, the speech by Cdr Jaime Wheelock, before a group of social scientists, members of the clergy and newsmen, during which he expounded on the truth about the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] in Nicaragua, I wish to make the following comments.

In the first place, I would like to be in complete agreement with Commander Wheelock so that in this way we could achieve the unity of our country which we obtained one day through a program of government in which pluralism, a mixed economy and respect for all Nicaraguans were established, as the bases of that program of government.

However, as the wife of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro Cardenal, who was one of the 50,000 persons killed and who was the catalyst that caused the people to explode and take to the streets in opposition to the Somoza tyranny, I wish to protest the charges that Commander Wheelock made against LA PRENSA when he said we were following the same line as EL MERCURIO in the weeks preceding the fall of Allende.

Although it is true that the newspaper LA PRENSA is critical of the Sandinist revolution and is in opposition to some of the programs of the current government, that is because this newspaper has always followed the same line of struggle on behalf of freedom. For 56 years, LA PRENSA has preached pluralist democracy and respect for human rights and has attacked acts of prepotency and tyranny. The selfsame members of the FSLN, such as Carlos Fonesca and the other leaders, have found on the pages of this newspaper a defense against the injustices and attacks committed against them and encouragement for their just claims.

However, now that the FSLN is in power, they would like to silence that struggle for freedom and justice; that voice of those who have no voice and scourge of those who do violence against human rights. They want to silence us by discrediting this institution and they wish to silence us by means of draft press legislation which leaves the road open to those now in power to govern as they see fit, without a court in which we can cry out against injustices, acts of tyranny and in defense of the humble.

I believe that this mission of continuing to be the court of the humble, the defender of freedom, promoter of democracy and pluralism, cannot be characterized as counterrevolutionary or treasonable as they were called by Commander Wheelock. We propose to follow the same line which was drawn for this newspaper by my husband with his blood and which made it possible for the flag of freedom and of the people's social demands to once again fly over Nicaragua.

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CSO: 3010/1309

VICE MINISTER MAYORGA ON AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRESS

Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 5, 6, 7 Mar 82

[Interview with Salvador Mayorga, vice minister of agrarian reform, by Jose Davila Membreno: "INRA [National Institute for Agrarian Reform] Explains Agrarian Reform Progress"; date and place not given]

[5 Mar 82 pp 1, 14]

[Text] Agrarian reform: Everyone talks about it. It is seen as the key to development in poor countries and indeed, there is a great deal of truth to this. All countries want agrarian reform. They want to change the structure of land ownership, promote rural development and increase rural income.

Agrarian reform is necessary; about this, there is no debate. who will carry it out and how is the question. In Nicaragua, the Somoza dictatorship itself boasted that it was achieving agrarian reform. With the revolutionary triumph of the people on 19 July, an agrarian reform process began in the country. Land was seized and taken by peasants, agrarian reform deeds are being issued, more land is being allocated and an attempt is underway to improve the living conditions of farmers and farm workers.

How is the process doing? How far has it come? How far will it go? What philosophy is behind the government in the agrarian reform process?

Answering these questions is LA PRENSA's purpose in presenting to its readers an in-depth and exclusive interview with Salvador Mayorga, vice minister of agrarian reform of MIDINRA.

Three Installments

We shall present the interview in three parts. In the first, we shall talk about the beginning of the agrarian reform since 19 July. How and when did it begin? What does the vice minister of agrarian reform think of what Somozaism also called agrarian reform? How were the cooperatives formed on land taken from the Somozaists? What is the concept being followed by the team heading up agrarian reform?

In the second installment, we shall discuss agrarian reform titles, what they are, what they represent. Are the peasants happy? Areas of deeding. Number

of cooperatives that have received titles. Future plans for deeding. Agrarian advice and the agrarian court.

In the third and final installment, we shall discuss the aspect of land allocation based on the Agrarian Reform Law. How is it allocated and why? How much has been allocated? Payment with bonds. The effect of agrarian reform on farm production. Prejudices of the different sectors involved. Have we progressed beyond the traditional individualism of the Nicaraguan peasant?

First Part

To begin, Mayorga wanted to point out a number of aspects of the agrarian reform that they are implementing.

"We believe that the agrarian reform in our country began on 19 July 1979, the date on which the Somoza dictatorship was thrown out," he said.

"Naturally," he added, "this is a process and what we have sought with the subsequent promulgation of the Agrarian Reform Law in August 1981 and the Farm Cooperative Law in October of that same year is to set up a legal framework for the ordering of the reform process."

"When you say that the agrarian reform began on 19 July, what then do you think of what Somozaism called its 'agrarian reform'?" we asked him.

"According to the Somozaists, there really was supposed to be something like it, but what there was was an institute that was called the IAN [National Agrarian Institute], but what it basically did was to take land from the peasants, on the one hand, and on the other, palliate the negative effects of that same expropriation," he answered.

"What Somozaism did," Mayorga said, "was to throw the peasants onto marginal farmland, where their living conditions were unsuitable and where they had no possibility of successfully producing anything.

"There was no infrastructure or suitable land," Mayorga added.

"The only thing that settlement projects did was to relieve pressure where the landowners promoted their concentrated ownership of land," he explained.

Beginning

Mayorga was asked at what precise point the agrarian reform began. "The agrarian reform began," he answered, "with the confiscation of the land of Somoza, of the Somozaists, the officers of the National Guard, and so on.

"This meant making available to the agrarian reform 1.4 million blocks of land, the amount with which we began the reform process," he said.

"Of this land, a large amount: 300,000 blocks, was informally given to peasants organized in different ways.

"The rest, where the most sophisticated and modern production units were located, such as the sugar mills, modern coffee and cotton plantations, and so on, went to the government as agrarian reform enterprises and at the present time, they represent 20 percent of all farm production. We do not want to expand this sector, but rather, consolidate it," he added.

"This informal parceling of land to cooperatives established on confiscated land, what we did with the 300,000 blocks, plus a broad credit policy for these settlement groups, gave rise to the establishment of 2,000 cooperative groups to which 60,000 peasants belong, equivalent to about 50 percent of the country's small producers."

Mayorga illustrated the broad credit extended to small producers, stressing that under Somoza, in 1 year, the maximum amount of credit granted to small producers through the National Bank Rural Credit Fund was 90 million cordobas, but that during the first year of the revolution, 900 million cordobas in credit were granted. "This means a tenfold increase," he said, "and in real terms, it is an increase of 5 to 6 times."

Concept

Speaking of the concept and characteristics of the agrarian process they are implementing, the vice minister of agrarian reform said:

"The process on which we have embarked is an agrarian reform that obeys the special socioeconomic characteristics of the country in general, but more specifically, it is adapted to the degree of agricultural development of our country," he said.

"I do not want to leave out the fact that this process is being carried out in close relationship to the policy of the Revolution of National Unity, reflected in the characteristic that no limit is placed on individual ownership," he added.

"Unlike other agrarian reforms that have historically taken place, ours does not set any limit on ownership of the land, but rather, the land affected is that which had belonged to large landowners and that was being inefficiently worked, left idle or land belonging to persons of independent means."

[6 Mar 82 pp 1-2]

[Text] "Within a legal framework, the promulgation of the Agrarian Reform Law and the Farm Cooperative Law are an attempt to order the reform movement, constituted by the informal distribution of land and the granting of credit," Salvador Mayorga explained to us.

Deeding

"It was the need to begin to establish a basis for this organization that prompted us to begin deeding, the issuance of agrarian reform titles to cooperative groups, as well as to individual farmer-producers," he explained.

"In this process, we have chosen to begin with the cooperatives as a conscious policy of the revolution," he went on, "inasmuch as we believe that the cooperative is the most perfect way of organizing, which is not only capable of using modern techniques, but which also facilitates technical assistance and the granting of credit.

"This is where we are concentrating our greatest efforts from now on. We want to demonstrate a policy of giving incentives to the cooperatives, although we have already done so and are going to continue doing so, while also issuing agrarian reform deeds to individual peasants," he added.

Preferential Rates

Mayorga explained that bank treatment of cooperatives was more favorable than that of individual farmers and pointed out that while the interest rate for individual producers was 11 percent, it was 8 percent for the cooperatives.

Cooperatives

In answer to a question concerning the criteria for granting deeds to cooperatives, he explained that what they are doing is to choose the most advanced, most consolidated cooperatives for the granting of titles.

"To date," he said, "we have issued deeds to 75 cooperatives, equivalent, in terms of area, to 30,000 blocks."

"What kind of land is involved?" he was asked.

"Normally, this land is of the best quality and infrastructure and it is in operation. In the case of Chinandega, the land is in cotton and is of the best quality. The same is true of Leon."

Symbolism

"I wish to add," Mayorga said, "that we want to symbolize the beginning of this formalization of the cooperative movement by granting deeds to the most outstanding, best organized cooperatives with the largest number of members, and also by granting titles to efficient farmers, to outstanding soldiers or symbolic persons such as General Melgara, General de Sandino, who received his title in the latest issuance in Nueva Segovia."

Beneficiaries

The beneficiaries of these issuances of deeds to cooperatives were, according to our information, 1,600 heads of family, which should be multiplied by 6, the average number of members of a farm family.

"But is that not a very small number, compared with the rural population?" he was asked.

"Yes," he answered, "but what is really happening is that this is a formalization of a de facto situation. There are 2,000 cooperatives that already have land, that are already settled on land confiscated at the beginning of the revolution." he explained.

And what about the areas where deeds have been distributed? "We have proceeded by departments, in Wiwili, in the northern area, then we moved on to Rivas, Chinandega, Leon and finally, Nueva Segovia.

"We still have the areas of Managua, Matagalpa, Boaco and Chontales to go."

Deeds

The vice minister of agrarian reform was asked about the deeds, their nature, scope and any difference from a deed of ownership. He explained:

"For all practical purposes, the titles are like titles of ownership, with certain differences. For example, we decided that such deeds would not permit their sale and the sale of the land. We wanted to avoid any concentration of land ownership, which might result in large landowners.

"For example, we found that in the case of the former IAN under Somoza, one individual owned 365 parcels of those included in the settlement projects of the institution.

"What we want is to protect the person who receives his title, which is more than a mere deed for use or usufruct because the land can be used for many purposes, among them that of a guarantee for the financial system. The land can even be passed on, but ownership as such belongs to the state."

"But are the peasants satisfied with these titles?" he was asked.

His reply was as follows: "The farmers feel that the deeds help them, giving them all the security they need.

"What is more, under the current conditions, in addition to the practical purposes, producers are more certain of their titles than at any other time in the history of Nicaragua. They are protected from bank executions and no one can take their land away, since our line, in the case of the titles, has been that of the indissoluble link of the farmer-producer to the land."

More Flexibility

Mayorga also explained that once this wave of agrarian reform deed distribution is over, there will be broader, more flexible deeding, and titles will be given to peasants living on national land, who have no security.

"We shall give titles to these peasants whom Somozaism took from one place and threw into another, giving them nothing more than promises of deeds. Actually, what it gave them were simple leases. That is what we want to do this year," he added.

Councils and Tribunal

Our source also explained that along with the Agrarian Reform Law and the Farm Cooperative Law, agrarian councils have been set up in each of the seven regions into which the country is divided for MIDINRA.

There is a national agrarian council, headed by Minister Wheelock, and then there are the regional councils, which provide the criteria, orientations and advice for application of the agrarian reform.

There is also the agrarian tribunal, an organization under the Government Junta and which has a special province, that of resolving appeals and protests of those affected by agrarian reform measures they consider to be unjust.

The tribunal does not have any organic link with MIDINRA and it is headed by Eddy Grijalva, vice minister of justice.

[7 Mar 82 p 6]

[Text] The land informally distributed immediately after 19 July, plus land that has begun to be allocated through the Agrarian Reform Law promulgated in August of last year, will be used to strengthen the country's cooperative movement.

This information was given to us by Salvador Mayorga, who added that on some of the land involved, cooperatives have already been established.

Seizures?

In order to be perfectly clear on the allocation of land, we asked our guest to explain the allocation process.

"The process is a simple one," he said. "The land is expropriated, allocated and deeds are issued. The former owner is compensated for the land.

"However, I wish to state that nearly all of the titles granted are for land already seized at the very beginning. Once the lien is placed on the property, it is expropriated, is transferred to the government, which in turn grants it to the cooperative."

He was asked: Could this allocation of land be considered as an extension of the criteria of confiscation immediately applied following the triumph of the revolution?

"Not at all," he answered. "In the case of seizure from the Somozaists, it was through an order and the reason was exclusively political. The allocation now going on is for specific reasons of agrarian reform."

Continuing his reply, he said: "Every agrarian reform has its way of allocating the land that will be used. Some countries have limits, stating that all properties of over 300 blocks are affected, and this stands as the maximum amount of land that can be owned.

"Here, anyone can have as much land as he wants, provided that he works it. The reasons adduced for taking the land are clear: abandonment, inadequate use, leasing (the land is rented), or land already being worked by peasant cooperatives," he added.

Legal Process

"What is exactly the legal process?" we asked him. "Let us take an example," he said. "In San Albino, Roberto Quinonez lost a piece of land amounting to 5,000 or 6,000 blocks because of inadequate use. If Quinonez believes that an injustice has been done, then he can appeal to the agrarian court, which has two choices: either invalidate the lien placed on the property or confirm it.

"If the lien is validated, then the compensation is made through bonds. These bonds are of three different types, with different interest rates and deadlines. They depend on the reason for the expropriation, if it was for abandonment or inadequate use of the land or for leasing, which determine the type of bond to be used."

Mayorga gave an example of the time limits. He said that the deadline for using the bonds is 10 years if for inadequate use of the land, 15 for abandonment and 20 for leasing for income.

Encumbered Land

"How much land has been encumbered since promulgation of the Agrarian Reform Law?" he was asked.

His answer was: "To date and as a result of the different grounds for expropriation contained in the Agrarian Reform Law, 90,000 blocks throughout the country have been taken, including those in Nueva Segovia, the latest addition."

"From how many properties or owners were the 90,000 blocks taken?"

"From 98," was the answer.

We wanted to learn how many of the owners have appealed the decision on their land. Mayorga said that most are appealing, but that there are some who are not.

"And can you grant deeds as soon as the land is declared to be encumbered?" we asked him.

"No," he replied. "The appeal process has to go through, then comes the expropriation and only afterwards are the deeds granted. Sometimes this can take 3 or 4 months."

Concerns

When the vice minister of agrarian reform was told of many concerns of landowners regarding the encumberment of land, he said that in some sectors, the agrarian reform had been handled with uncertainty.

He gave as an example a recent protest by cotton growers in the west, who said they had been given under 500 blocks of land, the amount assigned by the law for the zone.

"What we have here is an erroneous interpretation of the law," he said. "Sometimes, a piece of land amounting to 200 or 300 blocks might be allocated because it was being rented, but that owner has other property which, when combined, exceeds what is stipulated by law.

"There can be errors, such as when one son has the same name as the father and it appears that it is the same owner.

"In this case, they have to show that there are two owners and the agrarian reform will not encumber their land, as long as the grounds stipulated by law do not exist.

"We have also had a manipulation of the purposes of the agrarian reform and we have constantly said that what we want is to give incentive to producers. I should like to add that following publication of the law, many producers began to be concerned about working their land and turning it into efficient operations.

"That is the most general reply, although fear was used."

Effect

Interested in learning the effect of the agrarian reform on agricultural development in the country, we asked Mayorga for some evidence of the beneficial effects of the reform.

"There is one concrete aspect," he said, "the production of basic grain."

He explained: "In the last years of the Somoza regime, because of the type of development promoted and the country's political and economic crisis, basic grain was being imported."

"Then came the war, coinciding with planting time and affecting the production of basic grain. The revolution had to import grain for the period immediately following victory.

"But now," he said, "for this year 1982, we have as our goal self-sufficiency in basic grain. We shall possibly achieve it, although it always depends on yield.

"At any rate, we shall approach self-sufficiency and if we have to import, it will be only small quantities.

"The only somewhat difficult case is that of beans, which are very sensitive to bad weather.

"For us, this is an achievement of the agrarian reform," he emphasized.

Peasants

A final aspect which we discussed with Mayorga was the subject of the peasants. We pointed out the case of the farmers who, in order to benefit from the agrarian reform, argue that they have to be subjected to political criteria and participate in organizations such as the CDS [Sandinist Defense Committees], the ATC [Agricultural Workers Association] or the militia.

His answer was: "These political criteria do not determine how we treat the cooperatives. This has no effect. It is not a requirement in order to benefit from the agrarian reform. There are no conditions.

"It is true that there are campaigns, such as that on the radio on 15 September, which always say that we are going to take the land away from the peasants and give it to the state.

"That does not surprise us since they are spokesmen for those who controlled the land in the past and are trying to confuse the peasants in order to discredit the revolution.

"I do not deny that some individual peasant might be influenced by these campaigns, but not all peasants in general, who feel that there is security and who are working with enthusiasm."

Does he then believe that the farmers are content and that they are not coerced by political considerations?

"There are peasants who have received their deeds and are also members of the militia, believing that it is part of their duty. They are people willing to defend their land and the revolution. They are in cooperatives because they have understood our objectives and there is no conditioning."

"And individualism, in the sense of working alone, which has traditionally existed among Nicaraguan peasants, has not been a problem in the matter of the cooperatives?" we asked Mayorga.

"The response to the importance of the cooperative has been enormous," he answered. "There are many peasants who in two years have in some way joined the agrarian reform, about 50 percent of the peasants.

"Naturally, they are not consolidated, but they do understand and are interested in going beyond their individualism and isolationism in order to share their work and technology with others, since working in a group to take advantage of modern technology is an economic principle that we cannot reject in the agrarian reform process which we are carrying out in our country."

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CSO: 3010/1307

15 SEPTEMBER DENOUNCES 10 KILLINGS IN RIO BLANCO

PA262145 (Clandestine) Radio 15 September in Spanish to Nicaragua 0230 GMT
26 Apr 82

[Text] The genocidal repressive policy of the treacherous mangy dog commanders' current Marxist-Leninist dictatorship is becoming more acute as the days go by. Our poor peasants are the primary victims of these criminal actions by the new [words indistinct], under the orders of the FSLN.

Radio 15 September, the voice of a people who are determined to be free, has been informed by its sources that in the eastern central area of our country, the Rio Blanco area, specifically 10 humble and peaceful peasants were murdered in cold blood by henchmen of the treacherous and usurping commanders' totalitarian regime.

According to information received from our contacts and liaisons in that area of our nation, these 10 humble workers were murdered by the communist dictatorship because they were suspected of supplying food and information to the Nicaraguan Democratic Forces' freedom commands in that area. These 10 brother peasants, murdered because of a mere suspicion on the part of the mangy dogs' state security organization, are 10 new martyrs for the people of Nicaragua in their struggle to truly liberate our country from the claws of oppressive communism.

In the most shameless and insolent manner, the dictatorship, through its Defense Ministry and its Minister Humberto Ortega Saavedra, a Marxist traitor who is running from Costa Rica justice, issued a war bulletin a few days ago trying to make our peasant brothers, murdered by the genocidal hordes, appear as freedom fighters, inventing an alleged recovery of weapons and ammunition [words indistinct] that were never shown to the press. The only weapons they could have recovered would have been tools used by our peasant brothers [words indistinct]. It is genocidal actions like these that force our brothers to flee the country and to seek refuge in the sister country of Honduras. Only by doing so can they protect their lives and those of their families.

Radio 15 September denounces, before the world, this new crime perpetrated by the mangy dog regime's henchmen, who murdered 10 innocent peasants because of a mere suspicion on the part of the fearsome state security organization. Communist repression against the people of Nicaragua is becoming more acute.

CSO: 3010/1433

MINING CONCERNS ASKED TO REGISTER

PA260300 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 1800 GMT 23 Apr 82

[Message issued by the Dissemination, Press and Public Relations Office of the Nicaraguan Minerals and Hydrocarbons Institute, INMINEH, on 22 April 1982 --read by announcer]

[Text] INMINEH, in accordance with decrees No 137 and No 314, issued on 2 November and 15 February, respectively, requests all citizens and legal entities involved in exploration for or the exploitation of gold, silver, lime, gypsum, sand, stone or any other mineral to come to our offices--the legal division, located in (El Punto, Pista de la Resistencia)--before May 7 1982, bearing all necessary documents to legalize these activities. The operations of all those who do not comply with this request will be suspended indefinitely and the decree nationalizing the mining sector will be enforced in their cases, whereby INMINEH will recover all of their equipment and tools.

All interested parties are reminded that this decree cancelled all licenses, permits and mining concessions, all rights to which were transferred to the state, under the administration of INMINEH, through the Nicaraguan Mining Development Corporation, CONDEMINA, (?CONNOMED), (?PEMIN) [expansions not given], or through other parties noted in the pertinent regulations.

It is reiterated that any mining activities that are not registered by INMINEH are illegal and will be sanctioned in accordance with the penal code and other pertinent laws.

[Dated] Managua, 22 April 1982

[Signed] The Dissemination, Press and Public Relations Office, INMINEH

CSO: 3010/1433

BRIEFS

CANADIAN DAIRY PROJECT--The mission of the Canadian Agency for International Development, ACDI, that is visiting our country, has signed an \$18 million line of credit with the national reconstruction government. The credit will be used in the Chiltepe peninsula dairy project that is being promoted by the Ministry of Agricultural Development. This project will receive additional assistance in the form of technical cooperation and research that will be conducted by the Nicaraguan Institute of Aqueducts and Canals. It has been announced that a group of Canadian Government technicians will come to Nicaragua in June to ascertain the types of products and machinery that the dairy project and other priority programs will require. The ACDI mission is headed by (Marcel Mache), the agency's president. Sergio Ramirez Mercado, member of the government junta, has described the visit as a contribution that strengthens the ties of cooperation between Canada and Nicaragua. Part of the credit will be used in the Muy Muy and Matiguas dairy projects that will benefit small and medium producers. [Text] [PA260432 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 0600 GMT 24 Apr 82]

BATTALION 64-30 IN TRAINING--Ocotol--Battalion 64-30 left yesterday evening for training somewhere in Nicaragua. A political meeting was held to celebrate the event. Slogans were shouted against Eden Pastora's treason. The battalion is composed of peasants, workers and students. [PA240500 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 0000 GMT 21 Apr 82]

PRIZES FOR MILL WORKERS--Twenty workers from the Benjamin Zeledon sugarmill, in Rivas Department, have been awarded recreational trips for their outstanding performance in defense and production. A few days ago, five mill workers were awarded trips to Cuba. They are presently there, meeting with Cuban sugarmill workers. During their 1-month stay, the Nicaraguan sugarmill workers will visit several productive and recreational centers. It has also been learned that an additional five companeros, who have participated actively in revolutionary tasks, were given a cultural and recreational tour through the university campus of Leon yesterday. [Text] [PA262215 Managua International Service in Spanish 1800 GMT 24 Apr 82]

BATTALION 40-15 RETURNS--Reserve Battalion 40-15 was warmly received last night in El Viejo. The battalionspent 19 days in the mountains, receiving political and military training. At the event that was held to receive them, the reservists rejected Pastora's traitorous attitude and burned all of their militia cards signed by him. This battalion is made up mostly of peasants and workers. [PA262215 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 1800 GMT 24 Apr 82]

SALVADORAN REFUGEES--There are over 20,000 Salvadoran refugees in Nicaragua. Twenty-five percent of these refugees are under the protection of the Salvadoran refugee office of the Nicaraguan Social Security and Welfare Institute. Through this office, the national reconstruction government has settled these refugees in the departments of Leon, Chinandega, Rivas, Carazo, Esteli and Chontales. The UN High Commission for Refugees and other international religious and social organizations have been sending economic and other types of aid for the support of these Salvadorans under the Nicaraguan Government's protection. The remaining 75 percent of the Salvadoran refugees carry out productive activities in the places where they live. [Text] [PA231557 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 0600 GMT 23 Apr 82]

U.S. DESTROYER EQUIPMENT--Managua--The U.S. destroyer Caron, which violated Nicaraguan waters in the Pacific and has remained near the Gulf of Fonseca, is a highly automated vessel with the capability of engaging in antisubmarine warfare. The ship has electronic espionage equipment, radar and other equipment for the control of weaponry. It also has Sea Sparrow multiple missiles, MK 36 Chaffroc rocket systems and helicopters, which make it a triple-purpose destroyer. [Text] [PA231623 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 0600 GMT 23 Apr 82]

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